

**MANAGING POVERTY ALLEVIATION:
INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD**

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MANAGING POVERTY ALLEVIATION

INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD

Editors
JAIDEEP SINGH AND R.K. TIWARI

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COMMITTEE ON CASE STUDIES
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
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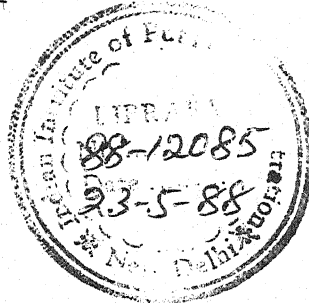
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FOREWORD

In India, management of rural development has increasingly become a critical area of concern. During the Sixth Plan and in the current Seventh Plan the quantum of resources earmarked particularly for poverty alleviation programmes have been significantly enhanced. However, the degree of disparity between planned goals and actual outcomes has made management of such programmes the focus of attention. IIPA's Committee on Case Studies decided that it would be useful to develop some case studies authored by administrators engaged in the management of poverty alleviation programmes which would vividly portray the impediments to effective implementation.

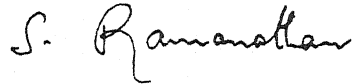
The present publication entitled **Managing Poverty Alleviation: Insights from the Field** seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the implementation processes in the management of poverty alleviation programmes. The case studies broadly examine social, cultural, planning, organisational and behavioural problems affecting the achievement of results. Part I of this volume provides an excellent introduction to the origin and purpose of the case method, the arts of case writing and using case studies for training administrators, an overview of the cases in this volume and offers nine suggestions for more effective management of the process of poverty alleviation.

I would like to take this opportunity to convey my appreciation to my colleagues Prof. Jaideep Singh, Professor of Behavioural Sciences and Dr. R.K. Tiwari, Reader in Public Policy and Rural Studies for their dedication to this project. This publication is a

substantial contribution to the literature on rural development in developing countries and will also be extremely valuable for the purpose of training our administrators.

Finally, my thanks to the Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Rural Development for their assistance in this project.

New Delhi
February, 1988



(S. RAMANATHAN)
Director
Indian Institute of
Public Administration

PREFACE

The initiative to prepare the present volume was taken on September 30, 1983 during discussions in a meeting of the Committee on Case Studies of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. Shri M. Subramanian who was then Additional Secretary, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, felt that the ministry would be happy to give support to the project. A proposal was sent to the ministry and after some modifications, financial assistance was made available for the project on September 4, 1985. The ministry suggested the names of fourteen administrators who would be interested in contributing case studies on the implementation of anti-poverty programmes for the proposed volume. The editors of this volume then prepared comprehensive guidelines to facilitate the work of the case writers.

With this publication, through its Case Studies Programme started in 1961, IIPA has published fourteen volumes--four in its old series and now ten in its new series--comprising a total of ninety two case studies. The present publication entitled **Managing Poverty Alleviation: Insights from the Field** has been divided into two parts. Part I provides understanding of the case method, the arts of case writing and teaching, the critical factors to inquire into while writing case studies particularly with reference to poverty alleviation programmes and, primarily on the basis of the case studies in the volume, gives some suggestions for managing the process of poverty alleviation in India more effectively. Part II consists of the case studies selected for the volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the case writers for their cooperation

and willingness to put in a lot of effort in preparing the case studies.

We are also sincerely grateful to Shri T.N. Chaturvedi, Editor, **Indian Journal of Public Administration**, for his kind permission for inclusion in this publication of two papers published earlier in the journal.

Our thanks also to the Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Rural Development, for financial assistance and particularly, to Shri Inderjit Khanna, IAS, Joint Secretary (IRD) for his kind cooperation.

We would also like to express our appreciation to IIPA's Committee on Case Studies, particularly, Prof. M.V. Mathur, Chairman, Shri S. Ramanathan, Director, IIPA and Project Director, and Dr. O.P. Minocha, Member-Secretary.

We also sincerely thank Shri M.K. Gaur, Assistant Editor, IIPA, Shri Om Anand, Publications Officer, Shri Datar Singh, Shri K.K. Joshi and other members of the excellent staff of IIPA's Publication Section for their painstaking effort and contribution in ensuring the quality of this publication.

Finally, we are grateful to Shri G.C. Tandon for his valuable secretarial assistance in the project and to Shri Jitender Mehta for carefully typing the final manuscript.

New Delhi
February, 1988

JAIDEEP SINGH
R.K. TIWARI

COMMITTEE ON CASE STUDIES
1987-88 .

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. PROF. M.V. MATHUR
Ex-Vice Chancellor,
University of Rajasthan,
F-48, Sundar Marg,
'C' Scheme, Jaipur,
Rajasthan. | Chairman |
| 2. PROF. V. BHASKARA RAO
Professor of Public Administration,
Department of Public Administration,
Kakatiya University,
Warangal,
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Academy of Administration,
Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. | Member |
| 4. SHRI M. SUBRAMANIAN, IAS (retd.)
Formerly Secretary,
Ministry of Agriculture,
Government of India,
Family Suite No. 6,
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Rajasthan. Member
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Director,
Indian Institute of Public
Administration, Indraprastha Estate,
New Delhi. Project Director
and
Member
10. DR. O.P. MINOCHA
Indian Institute of Public
Administration, Indraprastha Estate,
New Delhi. Member-Secretary

CONTRIBUTORS*

1. DR. P. MAHAPATRA, IAS
Project Director,
District Rural Development Agency,
Nellore, Andhra Pradesh.
2. SHRI A.K. SINGH, IAS
District Magistrate,
Gaya, Bihar.
3. SHRI T.R. RAMASWAMY, IAS
District Collector and Chairman,
District Rural Development Agency,
Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu.
4. SMT. JAYASHREE WATAL, IAS
Project Director, District Rural
Development Agency, Ranga Reddy,
Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.
5. SHRI SANJOY DAS GUPTA, IAS
Deputy Secretary to Chief Minister,
Government of Karnataka, Bangalore.
6. SHRI A. MOHAMMED HANEEFA, IAS
District Collector,
Palghat, Kerala.
7. SHRI DHANI RAM, IAS,
Director of Land Records-
Consolidation of Holdings,
Government of Himachal Pradesh,
Shimla.

*The designations given refer to the positions held by the officers at the time of initiation of the project.

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PART I

The Case Method—A Radical Educational Process

JAIDEEP SINGH

One broad facet of the world we live in, is that, politically, the human civilisation has been moving from what might be called authoritarian types of regimes and systems towards more democratic systems. This movement towards democracy has simultaneously to be reflected in our organisational systems and similarly in a revolutionary transformation of teaching methodologies. The fundamental purpose of a democratic society and educational system is to facilitate the fullest development of each individual in the society. Some time ago, the National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau mentioned that out of 23 million children born in India every year only 3 million reach adulthood with their genetic potential intact. As many as 3 million die before the first year, a million die before the fifth year; of the remaining 16 million about 9 million are severely malnourished and 7 million mildly malnourished. This state of affairs is a major crisis, a major crime going on in front of our eyes. And everything that we can possibly do to transform this state of affairs is necessary and urgently required.

Management, which is what we are educating and training for, is not really a set of techniques. It is not a few aids like PERT or CPM or the addition of computers. Such aids and technologies have their own vital importance. But management is essentially a behavioural process. It is the art of catalysing people towards achieving certain objectives. It is the art of getting their voluntary cooperation. It is the art of communicating dignity to each individual on your team. It is the art of relating to the citizen in a way that through the relationship he gains in

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self-esteem rather than looses. Now this kind of behavioural process can only be taught by a method which facilitates people to learn the skill of functioning in new ways. Management is a practice, a skill, and it has to be practised to be learnt, like swimming. You cannot learn swimming through the older traditional method like a lecture. You have to be in the water and you have to practise. Traditional academic teaching has many disadvantages. In fact, all over the world, the traditional form of teaching through lectures is still the dominant form of teaching. The usual classroom, for example, is basically designed for that form of teaching.

One major disadvantage of that form of teaching is that for years the student in a sense remains a passive listener. Someone said that words pass from the notebook of the teacher to the notebook of the student without really being in the mind of either. A person who is taught by that method, by and large, develops memory, but he does not develop all the other major facets that are really critical in functioning effectively and contributing to society. The one way communication system has a non-verbal message that someone knows and that someone else, the student, is really something to be filled up like a bank with notes. This process continuing overtime can cause considerable damage to his personality and his sense of confidence and initiative, and also, it really does not develop the social, behavioural skills of interpersonal relations or the ability to analyse problems, problems of human affairs, problems of management, problems which require judgement, which require many factors to be evaluated, many dimensions to be seen, to be weighed, many consequences to be appraised, the various resistances during implementation to be diagnosed, visualisation of the various constraints and other difficulties that may come up and then choice of a strategy or an alternative. This kind of education of the mind for judgement is more feasible by the new technologies of teaching, for example, the case method.

In a generic sense, of course, the case method is the oldest method in the world. There is the story of the two women who both insist that the child is theirs, going to

Soloman, and Soloman saying to them, that alright, I will cut this child in two and give each of you half the child. Now there was a crisis, a problem to be solved and some way was found to discover the truth. Orally, so many incidents, cases, are presented throughout our civilisation, our tradition, which have morals behind them, which have lessons for action. So in a sense it is an ancient method. But in a scientific sense it is a very recent method. The field of health is really the first field which has been dealing with cases--analysing symptoms, understanding the problems of the patient, coming up with diagnosis and an action plan. Essentially, we are teaching the skills of diagnosis, action planning, direction, monitoring, implementation, appreciating other peoples' points of view, realising that for any situation there are many possible ways to deal with it. Even sometimes, quite diametrically opposite ways may be equally valid for dealing with a particular problem. Experiencing the need for other peoples' contributions, developing the value for interactivity--a civilisation which has to move forward in the coming era has to move from systems and individuals based on isolation and "I am better than you" towards systems and individuals based on egalitarian interactivity. This method facilitates that process. Medicine was the first area in which cases were discussed but then they were more discussed in the form of symptoms of a particular patient while the person and social interactions behind the symptoms were not so much appreciated or valued.

Around 1870 the case method was started in law schools, at the Harvard Law School, and as you know in law and the judiciary, very authoritative decisions are made on the basis of a particular weighing of the factors in a situation. Now that also did not serve the purpose of management in which as we see there are many ways to deal with a situation. In the field of management, in the field of administration, the first, the pioneer in this field who devoted tremendous amount of effort in the direction of case studies and used it as their fundamental mode of teaching, is Harvard University's Graduate School of Business Administration. In the early 1920s this method got a thrust from the then Dean

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and cases started to be collected and utilised and since then there has been no looking back for the Business School as regards production and utilisation of cases. Today, many other business schools are increasingly utilising case studies. Britain went into the field of case studies a little later after World War II. India, of course, has been interested in case studies since the early 1960s. China also has taken to it since the beginning of this decade.

In the field of public administration, case studies have been used since the mid 1930s. Work has been going on to collect cases. Particularly since 1945, Harvard University's School of Government and other universities like Cornell, Princeton, Syracuse have built up case studies in public administration. So it is a direction which is current, valuable and necessary. In fact, in the field of management education, I almost feel that it will be irresponsible of us not to go further in the direction of interactive methods of teaching with the use of various materials, whether with cases or without cases. But basically the direction has to be a tremendous degree of interaction. The case method, ultimately therefore, is an attitude of mind. It is a way of teaching in which you are teaching by not teaching. The contract between the teachers and the students is different from the earlier methods. The students are responsible for their own education. They have to realise that all education is really self education. The teacher facilitates the discussion, facilitates the interaction.

Let us turn now to the classification of types of case studies. I think we are all aware of basically what is a case study. By and large it is considered to be a description of a situation, with the facts presented in a fair amount of detail so that discussion can be fruitful. And the feelings of the major characters in the situation, their opinions, are all richly brought out so that the student can, in a sense, get a vicarious experience of the kinds of situations he himself, at every level, will be dealing with. Naturally, the case studies we might use for training the Medical Officer at the Primary Health Centre would be different (would deal with the problems he is

dealing with) from those we use with the Health Guide or the trained Dai at the village level. But the method, in my perception, is valid for all persons at all levels.

In an earlier note¹, case studies have been categorised into two major types--one is the decisional type and the other is the informational type. What we have in India is mostly the informational type in which a lot of information is given about a project or a programme or the way something was done. It more or less runs on and on and tells you about what happened. This is alright for purposes of research or literature. But it is not appropriate for teaching. For teaching, the decisional type, in which a situation is reached when a decision has to be made and the case cuts off at that point so that the student participant can really get involved emotionally in the problem and come up with various perspectives, discuss the objectives of the key character(s) in the case study, discuss the problems that are involved in reaching the objectives, the alternatives that can possibly be utilised, the **pros and cons** of the alternatives, suggest a recommendation, a choice, look at the implementation aspects of it and the difficulties of monitoring, etc. In other words, this professional approach to decision-making can be practised in case after case. This approach, when practised, develops a mind which is oriented towards getting things done. Getting things done, effectively, humanistically. We are not interested in getting things done in any manner. The style of how something is done can be even more important than what is done. So what is done and how it is done are both absolutely vital if we want to develop the society and its psychophysical health rather than destroy it. As I was looking over the possibility of categorising case studies in another way other than the earlier dual categorisation, I put together the following categories of classification.

The first one is the decisional type. By and large, for teaching, a lot of teaching should be by the decisional type. But there are many others and they too have their unique value and it is useful to keep them in mind so that we see them as legitimate and can use them effectively.

The second type is the appraisal type, which does not

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provide a point of decision but provides one with an appreciation of the various factors involved. It might be political pressures, caste factors, religious factors, financial and economic factors, location factors, etc. The appraisal type could have two sub-types, one being the microappraisal type which deals with the dynamics of the particular organisation. If it is the team at the village level, the dynamics of relationship between the Health Guide and the Dai, or at the Primary Health Centre, it is the dynamics between the health workers and the others who are directly connected there. So microappraisal types are more dealing with what is within the organisation, within that particular team, office or department, etc. On the other side, we have the macroappraisal type, which deals with what is outside the organisation. This deals with community pressures, awareness of the more external factors. The pressures for delivering the service to only a very few, the rich for example. In other words, external to the organisation factors. That would be the macroappraisal type. Naturally, in most studies there would be an overlap of the two kinds of factors. So appraisal studies are the second kind of case study.

The third type we could call historical case studies. These would give the history of the programme, the genesis of a programme, going into the history of a particular situation.

A fourth type of case study we could call current or live case studies. In this, for example, the teacher could discuss current live issues. He could bring newspaper clippings in the class of something going on at the time and the next day he could discuss the developments of that. So it is not a prepared case but something in which current matter is being used for discussion.

The fifth type of case studies we could call the project type of case studies in which the students are themselves given a project to do and they go out and search for information on a particular problem, for example, the problem that 90 per cent of the births in the village are not taking place with the help of the trained **Dais**. Now this is a serious problem. The students could be asked to study

this. Or the information that the major users of the Primary Health Centre, 90 per cent of the users, may be located very close to the health centre. Those who are slightly far off are not really aware or willing to come that far to use it. So this is another kind of problem which they can go and study and collect information on and develop a case study. This gives the student the ability to understand the factors involved, why things happen to be the way they are. Really, this is the process of teaching by making the student develop case studies.

The sixth type of case study could be called the experiential case study. Experiential case studies would mean realising and utilising the unlimited wealth of experience that exists within each individual in the class. Each of us has a distinct life experience and there is often very little time or interest in tapping this experience. And this type of case study would mean valuing this unlimitedly rich source of feelings and facts for discussion, for attitudinal and behavioural transformation and for growth, learning and development.

A seventh type of case study could be called or rather, has been called the incident type. You would remember that Prof. Paul Pigors of Massachusetts Institute of Technology developed this method as a contrast to the Harvard Business School method. The HBS method is more narrative and provides a detailed description of the situation. This MIT method or Pigors' incident method is basically a small brief incident and the teacher then serves in the class as a resource base for the participant to ask questions about the incident. In this method, the students develop the ability to ask questions and thus understand what is the kind of information necessary to comprehend the problem. So it develops the ability to ask questions for searching out information possibly a little more than the Harvard method while the Harvard method might be more beneficial for developing the attitude for taking decisions and getting a more action-oriented mind and psychology internalised by the student. Another possibility in the incident method is that each participant can become the instructor for the day and discuss a case which he has prepared or he has got

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information on and in that session other participants ask for more information to understand the problem. This gives each participant the opportunity to lead a discussion and respond to questions.

The eighth type of case study could be called the informal type. By informal case study I mean the utilisation of resources within the community. For example, we want to understand why the Maruti Project is functioning fairly effectively. So if we invited Maruti's Chairman and he led a discussion on the factors involved, the difficulties, problems, etc., and the students discussed with him we have an informal case study. Using a person(s) who has information about a certain situation and direct discussion with him—it is a more informal approach and you do not need to have a prepared case for the session.

The ninth type of case study could be called the fictional type. Now, fictional does not mean unrealistic. We are aware that many people based on their rich life experience can write studies which are extremely realistic. In fact, in such studies, you can bring out factors which in other 'realistic' case studies you would not be able to get the clearance for publication. Also, in the fictional type of case studies, we could use other literature like there are so many excellent works in the form of novels and poetry and other kinds of fictional literature which we should legitimise as materials for use. Also, there could be novels in Hindi or in the regional languages and they may catalyse many valuable understandings and transformation of attitudes and the general realisation of how people get conditioned into functioning for the upper half of the population and ignoring the people below the poverty line, i.e., the lower half. The general mental state of empathy for the weaker sections of the population is a major attitude which needs to be developed.

The final type of case study I have kept as a separate category because in our culture so far, we have undervalued it. We have great value for the written word but as an educational process very little value for the audiovisual medium. So audiovisual case studies would be another category.

I think we now have some idea about the contents of case studies. We can see that contents can be of various types and that the case method can even be used to teach by not using cases. It is a way of approaching the whole process of learning. It is a way of moving away from an educational system in which students have been treated as passive absorbers to a process which treats them as active participants. It is a way of shaping not merely the intellect but also the emotions and the spirit. So the case method has all these objectives and although we would use what we commonly call case studies, we would also use other types of materials.

Now the process of case production or case generation and case teaching are major skills. And again, as we know from our understanding of a skill, if you want to learn a skill you have to start doing it. The old chicken and egg problem exists as to which comes first, that is, do we first learn how to do it or first do we do it. Mostly, so far, these skills have been developed by doing. In recent years, in the last decade and a half, there has been work at the Harvard Business School towards the development of case studies on case writing and case teaching. In fact, Prof. C. Roland Christensen, in the spring of 1984, was honoured as the first University Professor at Harvard University from the Business School and the tenth in the University overall and a key area for which he has been honoured is his development of the analysis of the case study process of teaching. So it is an in thing to understand that teaching is an art form and the preparation of teaching materials is an art form and if we are going to value it as an art form then we can easily visualise what a radical degree of transformation has to take place within our society and institutions and in administrators who organise and manage our institutions. The reward system and the way performance appraisal is done--all these subsystems of administration would also have to undergo a radical transformation. For example, in our educational system, teaching is not really valued. The quality of teaching is not valued. When it comes to promotion of a faculty member, often they bring a scale, put the number of publications on one end and if it falls below a

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certain level they will feel, "well, he is ready for promotion". So there are lot of major changes, institutional, administrative, new systems of performance appraisal have to be created and the valuational criteria have to be drastically changed. Example setting, example by the leadership, is a very key issue. If the leadership gives very little demonstration of the new styles of interactive teaching, of the need and value for ways of motivating people into the world of thought and self-reliant action, then it is doubtful that this transformation will occur--or its pace will be considerably decreased.

Let us move now to the specifics in the process of case production. The first step would be to have a conceptual framework of what we are trying to do. What is the theme and focus of our case study? The second step would be to have specific questions in mind and specific objectives which we want to achieve in that study. So that when we go out for data collection we have these major key questions in our mind, because as we know reality is so intermingled and almost everything is operating in almost anything, so we cannot bring out all the facets but some key facets for a particular study would have to be crystallised. The second step would thus be the creation of key objectives and key questions. The third step would be to clarify for oneself what are the major units of study. Do we want to study a particular primary health centre or do we want to study its relationship with another PHC? What are the main units of study? Or do we want to study the relationship vertically, or do we want to study its relationship with other health care agencies in the broader sense, whether sanitation or drinking water or any other. Some clarification as to which are the major institutional, organisational, departmental units and subunits of study, has to be made.

The fourth step would be a more detailed understanding of the various characteristics, relationships, processes that one wants to study. What are the key dimensions? For example, in the note mentioned earlier², with reference to the study of anti-poverty programmes, there are ten major subsystems which should be looked at all the way from programme objectives, programme resources, interorga-

nisational relationships, organisational characteristics, the quality of implementers, clientele characteristics, the communication and information system, macrolevel state and central administrative and political support, socio-political and technoeconomic conditions and finally, programme performance and impact. Under each subsystem there are various dimensions which could be looked at, some key characteristics, some key factors, key variables and their relationships which could be examined and highlighted. If we want we could make a case study which highlights primarily communication factors or leadership factors or performance appraisal issues. In some richer case studies, many of these dimensions can be simultaneously highlighted. These may be more appropriate for more advanced classes or for sessions which come later in the course as one goes along and the students have developed familiarity with the system and the method. The next step would be to make oneself aware of various constraints that we face in collecting data and various potential opportunities that may become available to us when we are in the field collecting data.

Another key step would be to identify the major sources of data. Who are the persons that we wish to talk to? Who are the key characters in the problem? Would we be able to have access to all of them or most of them? In the case method, in my perception, the method of interviewing people is the most important approach or method for getting data. So it is very important to clarify for oneself as to who are the people and groups whose views we must present in the case study in order that the participants get a comprehensive understanding of the problems and consequently, can then make an intelligent, data based diagnosis and prescriptive recommendation.

Now in terms of methods of data collection, there are three basic methods based on three basic faculties that we have. One is direct observation. So a schedule for what we want to observe can be made up. We might want to get the authorisation to attend a meeting of the Village Health Committee or the Village Panchayat when they are discussing a health problem of the village. We might want to be a

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participant observer in a meeting in the department of health. Pre-planning of the key points one wants to observe is necessary. So first is what we can see. The second is what we can hear and that is primarily by using the interview technique. The third method is based on what we can read. Thus, we can record data from documents or files which throw light on the particular problems and decision situation which is the focus of our case study. Or there may be some information which we would like to put in an appendix to the case study, for example, we may wish to provide a background note about earlier decisions taken in connection with the problems presently under focus. So this data is obtained from reading written materials or examining other tangible materials.

While doing all this, another basic step is to know oneself. Self knowledge is vital when we go about the process of preparing case studies, because each of us has a particular type of genius, a particular direction in which we have talent and interest. So there is no point in developing case studies of all types whether we genuinely have a gift for a particular type or not. Somebody might be gifted in developing audiovisual case studies and somebody else might be gifted in writing fictional or historical case studies. Someone else might be able to highlight a decision problem very well. Somebody might be very good in using live/current case studies like newspapers, magazine/journal articles or discussion of a major crisis when it comes up like the Bhopal tragedy, etc. Somebody else might be very gifted at drawing deep into the experiences of each of the persons in the class and utilising experiential studies. So we have to organise the collection according to our own genius. Now these steps lead to the next steps, that is, collection and presentation of the data. From that we go to analysis of the data and presentation of our findings. From that we go on to conclusions, recommendations, pointers for further research and the new directions in which case studies are required, etc.

It is important at this point to note that for teaching case studies all these steps need not be made explicit. The only thing which we need to give to the students would be that

section which deals with the presentation of the data. That is, teaching case studies should comprise of the presentation of data on a situation. It is only in research or consultancy case studies that we should identify all the steps that we went through in collecting the data, how we decided on the sample of people that we interviewed or how we analysed the data and came to our conclusions. If we want to use these as teaching case studies we should divide the case study into at least two parts. The first part would portray the situation for the purpose of discussion; the second part could mention how we did the study, could give our perception of the reality, of the major problems, the causes, our diagnosis of the situation and how it should have been dealt with or how the case character(s) or the lead character(s) in the study actually did solve the problem, whether it met with failure or success. In other words, this entire process of historical reality and case writer's perception should be brought into a part which is not to be given to the participants before the discussion of the study. Because once the students know what happened in a situation, discussion will not get generated. Discussion gets generated if there is uncertainty, if there is speculation and it is not yet clarified as to how the situation was or could be dealt with.

The process of case utilisation or case teaching, as we mentioned earlier, is an art form. There are many facets to it. Two key points have been highlighted in a recent article on teaching by the case method.³ One is the concept of learning contract, that subconsciously or consciously, a contract is made with the participants as to how we learn. Once they accept the concept of self reliance, that all adult learning is self induced, it is only then that they spend a lot of time preparing the case study prior to the discussion and they take interest in trying to identify with the people in the study and genuinely try to contribute to the discussion. It is a different concept of learning than if they thought that their role was to passively listen. So this clarification of a new role for the student simultaneously changes the instructor's role towards being a facilitator of the discussion, a guide for the discussion

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through the steps of diagnosis, action planning and a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of implementation, monitoring and feedback. The teacher is expected to be a guide and catalyser of the discussion rather than an authoritarian communicator. This is because we want the student to develop the awareness that there are many ways of dealing synergically with a given situation and his self confidence to take initiative in the real situations that he would later face would depend greatly on his validation and correction through an intensely interactive, student-peers-group centered learning process. The second key point is the intervention style. The teacher can intervene by asking for clarification or by summarising what someone has said or by highlighting the main themes that have been brought out and their relationships, or by pointing out the link of one study with another study or by asking a particular participant a particular question at a particular moment. There are unlimited subtle yet critical dimensions to the art of teaching, to the art of bringing out the latent genius in a student, to transforming an inhibited person into a more confident person or a person who believes that knowledge and thoughts and feelings should be hoarded into a person who lives the philosophy that wealth grows through sharing oneself with others.

Another critical requirement of the case method is excellence in listening. To really listen is a major skill and it requires a great deal of empathy and courage. To listen to what the other person has in mind, what is his framework of thought, what are his genuine feelings, to enter his world--this is one of the most neglected yet most important abilities which we have to develop in our students and in ourselves.

Finally, apart from the central significance of the empathetic, facilitative quality of the teacher and the intensely motivated and interactive behaviour of students and the realistic, primarily interviews based nature of a wisely selected cluster of case studies, we must also realise, that in the case method of education, group dynamics is the fourth major resource which we use for shaping the learning experience. In the course of time, the

evolutionary, transformational and relational dynamics of groups, their processes, goals, norms and culture start influencing each individual just as each individual plays a role in shaping the nature and quality of the groups. Thus, the subgroups in which the participants should be encouraged to have preliminary discussions before coming to class and even more so, the total class as a group, comprise the fourth major distinguishing feature which makes the case method of education so radically innovative.

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Case Writing in Public Administration with Reference to Anti-Poverty Programmes

JAIDEEP SINGH AND R.K. TIWARI

In the field of public administration, the case method of instruction is still in its infancy. This method, pioneered by the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration in the early decades of this century, has yet to find its place in the education and training of experienced public administrators -- a role for which it is equally, if not more, appropriate. At present, the minor concession that has been made is that a few case studies are sometimes discussed in an otherwise predominantly non-participative, non-interactive and relatively obsolete system of education and training.

In India, the first initiative in the preparation of case studies in the field of public administration was taken by the IIPA in 1961 when it set up a Committee on Case Studies and started its Case Studies Programme. Since then, some 80 case studies have been published under this programme. They cover a wide range of the field of public administration and highlight a large number of significant concepts¹ which can be extremely valuable for the cognitive, attitudinal, behavioural and administrative development of public administrators and for the functional transformation of organisational behaviour, processes and practices.

There is, however, considerable validity to the criticism that case studies, like the ones mentioned above, are not written in a style which can absorb the reader and grip his attention, interest and involvement.

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The purpose of this note is to give some general guidelines for improving the art of case writing in public administration and to illuminate, with reference to anti-poverty programmes, the kinds of variables and forces whose portrayal and interplay becomes critical in describing the rich and complex situations that public administrators are continuously faced with and which offer challenging opportunities for the development of the administrative capabilities and skills in problem-identification, analysis, diagnosis, prognosis, prescription, implementation, monitoring and feedback and renewed analysis, policy formulation and programme planning in an unending administrative process. The particular area of implementation of anti-poverty programmes is, in our perception, one of the most important areas and provides an extremely valid test of the effectiveness or failure of India's public administration today and in the coming decades.

GENERAL GUIDELINES

The purpose of case writing is to authentically portray the dynamics of a particular reality. In the words of one case writer, "case writing amounts essentially to accurate reporting of facts, opinions, interpretations, attitudes and other data drawn from real-life situations ... the interpretations and perceptions presented in a case are themselves data requiring analysis, part of the situation one must try to understand".²

A case study in public administration may be conceived as a written account of how one or more public officials: (i) arrived at a policy decision, or (ii) implemented a policy decision or a programme, or (iii) dealt with a particular administrative situation or applied a particular policy or rule. The case study could portray: (a) the environmental, interorganisational and organisational context in which an

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administrative decision, incident or event took place, (b) the several factors and influences which had a bearing on it, (c) the different alternatives which were available for administrative decision or action, (d) choice of a particular alternative, and (e) its outcomes.

It deserves to be noted that every decision, to a larger or lesser extent, has an impact on decisions that are made later. The administrative process is an unending flow of interrelated behaviour--of decisions, actions and consequences. For this reason, a case writer has to use his judgement in order to delimit his field of inquiry.

Types of Case Studies

There are two basic types of case studies:

- (a) knowledge/informational type
- (b) decision-making type.

The knowledge/informational type of case studies are useful for increasing the reader's awareness about the environment in which he functions.

The decision-making type of case studies are useful for increasing the capacity of the reader/trainee to analyse problems, be sensitive to subtle nuances and cues, diagnose the real causes, think of alternatives and evaluate their multiple consequences in the short and long run, and then make decisions and initiate actions; in other words, internalise the professional approach to decision-making and administrative behaviour.

Sources of Material for Case Studies

The sources of data for an administrative case study can be categorised under six main headings:

- (i) personal observation;
- (ii) personal interviews with key participants and

- with other relevant individuals, groups and organisations;
- (iii) official records, dossiers, files;
 - (iv) books, journals, magazines, newspaper reports and other public writings and communications;
 - (v) parliamentary debates and papers; and
 - (vi) judicial and quasi-judicial hearings and reports.

In our perception, the most important method of collecting data is personal interviews, i.e., item (ii) above and maximum possible use should be made of this method. An ideal case is written when all the relevant sources are appropriately utilised. However, the lack of full utilisation of one or more of these sources need not deter the case writer from writing his case. The aim of the case writer should be to make the optimum use of the data that he can obtain given his objectives and his limitations of time, financial resources, etc.

The Case Writer's Task

1. The case writer should try to give a balanced and accurate presentation of a particular reality with all its dynamics.
2. The views of the various significant persons and groups critical to the happening should be given, preferably in their own words. As far as possible, the case writer should not give his own views or bias the writing with his own value judgements. If the case writer wishes to give his own assessment of the situation, this could be done at the end in the form of a sequel to the case study entitled: Case Writer's Perception.
3. The case study should be rich in its portrayal of the human dimension. This means that feelings should be given equal weightage as the so-called objective facts of the situation. Some of the typical feelingful human dimensions that need to

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be portrayed are:

- (a) individual values, attitudes, assumptions, beliefs, needs, interests, ambitions, expectations, frustrations, anxieties, jealousies, satisfactions, self-expectations, self-perception, etc.;
 - (b) interpersonal friendship, indifference, hostility, trust, mistrust, dominance, subservience, historical context of relationships;
 - (c) group pressures, norms, codes of conduct;
 - (d) intergroup cooperation, rivalry, positive and negative evaluations;
 - (e) informal organisation and communication;
 - (f) organisational climate and culture;
 - (g) quality of interorganisational relationships;
 - (h) regional, linguistic, caste, religious feelings, etc.;
 - (i) political, social and economic dimensions;
 - (j) feeling for national development;
 - (k) level of empathy for the poor and the weak; and
 - (l) degree of humanistic consciousness, conscience and commitment.
4. The case writer should safeguard the participants involved in a case study by keeping them anonymous. Only in a few cases, when it is absolutely germane to the quality of the case should the case writer make an exception to the principle of anonymity; and, in such cases, the case writer should clarify his intentions to all participants from the very beginning of his interaction with them.
5. The case writer should be as accurate and comprehensive as possible vis-a-vis the happening

that he portrays. Five important criteria for good case writing are: (a) objectivity, (b) chronological accuracy, (c) clarity, (d) sensitivity, and (e) comprehensiveness.

6. In the decision-making type of case study, the case writer should build the story to the point when the key decision-maker(s) in the case has to make a decision. This would comprise Part I of the case study. The actual decision taken and its consequences should be presented in a second part, that is, in part II of the case study. This approach to the writing of case studies greatly facilitates the case user in creating a stimulating discussion among the participants on the basis of Part I of the case study. Since the actual decision taken is not known to them, the participants experience greater interest in thinking through the problems and the decisional alternatives. For IIPA's Case Study Programme, therefore, case writers are now being encouraged to write case studies of the decision-making type.
7. In addition to the case study itself, the case writer should give a brief note which could serve as a guide to the case user. This should give the case writer's perception on:
 - (a) objectives of the case study, and
 - (b) issues/problems/concepts highlighted by the case study.
8. If the case writer feels it necessary he may also provide relevant background information, for example, broad sectoral information, in the form of an appendix to the case study.
9. The length of a case study should be appropriate to the kind of problem dealt with by the study and would naturally vary according to the scope

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of the study and its purpose. As a general guide, however, for the purpose of training programmes for public administrators, case studies should be about 5000 to 7500 words in length, i.e., about twenty to thirty double spaced typed pages.

SPECIFIC GUIDELINES

Case studies in the area of anti-poverty programmes, i.e., programmes meant to facilitate the upliftment of our masses who are below the poverty line and other weaker sections of our population, should focus on the implementation of programmes dealing with target groups such as the following:

- (a) landless labour,
- (b) share-croppers and tenant farmers,
- (c) marginal farmers,
- (d) rural artisans, and
- (e) other deprived groups or individuals who are being forced by circumstances to live and work in sub-human conditions.

The primary methodology of the case writer should be personal interviews. These interviews can be with, for example, satisfied beneficiaries, dissatisfied beneficiaries, potential beneficiaries, local bureaucracy, local politicians, local informal leaders, the socioeconomically powerful groups and individuals and the socioeconomically powerless groups and individuals, leaders of voluntary organisations, cooperatives, youth organisations, women's organisations, officials of financial institutions, leaders of organisations of the rural poor, union leaders, religious leaders, etc. Through these interviews and other sources of information, the case writer should direct our attention to the forces that facilitate or impede effective

implementation, that is, to the factors and their inter-relationships that determine the success or failure of the programme.

Given below under ten broad headings are some of the important factors that significantly influence the quality of performance in the implementation of anti-poverty programmes. They should be kept in mind by the case writer as he pursues the art of case writing in this area.

Programme Objectives

At the operational level, we move beyond the general legislative and administrative aims and establish objectives so that the overall purposes can be concretised to facilitate the process of implementation. Are the objectives specific enough? Are they challenging, yet realistic? Are they time-bound, clear, mutually compatible and reinforcing?

Programme Resources

Are the resources adequate for the achievement of the programme objectives? Are they available when required? Does the implementing organisation have adequate control over them? Is the overall programme leadership of adequate quality? Does it have the necessary administrative powers and political support to effectively coordinate and implement the programme?

Interorganisational Relationships

Effective implementation requires that programme objectives be understood by all those responsible for their achievement or implementation and that effective linkages and coordination exists between the relevant functionally interdependent organisations. Hence the importance of:

- (a) clarity in the distribution of responsibilities and accuracy and consistency in the communica-

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- tion of objectives to implementers;
- (b) effective interorganisational communication and linkages;
- (c) effective interorganisational coordination; and
- (d) appropriate allocations of authority and resources within the network of functionally connected organisations and for the network as a whole.

Characteristics of Implementing Organisations

There are various important characteristics of administrative organisations which affect programme performance. These broadly include:

- (a) structural features of the organisation--is authority concentrated at the top or is there adequate decentralisation and delegation to facilitate the use of intelligence at all levels of the organisation?
- (b) nature of rules and procedures--are they simple and easily understandable by the organisation's staff and its clientele or are they a cause of clientele frustration and corrupt practices by the staff?
- (c) quality of technological resources used by the organisation;
- (d) quality of the organisation's recruitment practices;
- (e) quality of reward system--does it discriminate sharply between those who contribute to programme performance and results and those who are merely interested in collecting paychecks? Are the rewards adequate or they are far too meagre considering the enormous temptations being offered to administrators in contemporary India to look the other way and permit anti-social, corrupt practices to grow at an exponential pace? Are there strong organisational

deterrents and penalties for such antisynergic, "get rich quick by looting the citizen" type of behaviour?

- (f) organisational policies and their administration--do policies manifest a philosophy of dignity and respect for the individual? Are they administered justly and with empathy?
- (g) level of organisational commitment to egalitarianism as opposed to authoritarianism;
- (h) level of informality and prorational intimacy, mutual trust and sensitivity between individuals, within and between groups and in the organisation at large;
- (i) quality of the organisation's leadership;
- (j) degree of organisational valuation of individual and group initiative and innovation in the service of clientele and community satisfaction and development;
- (k) quality of the informal organisation and of peer leadership at all levels of the organisation;
- (l) ability of the organisation to obtain adequate political support;
- (m) does the organisation appreciate the central role of training for improving organisational performance?
- (n) characteristics of jobs--are jobs designed and personnel placements made in such a way so as to provide an experience of meaningful challenge, responsibility and excitement?
- (o) degree of open, honest communications and synergic interactions at all organisational levels;
- (p) level of mutual influence and decision-making participation in the processes of goal-setting, monitoring and control throughout the organisation;
- (q) quality of the overall organisational climate and culture--does it foster the synergic actualisation of individuals, the organisation and

the community or does it alienate individuals from the organisation and the community? How far has the organisation moved along the continuum from the depersonalised bureaucratic-mechanistic type of culture towards the more synergic enlightened organisation³ culture?

- (r) what is the degree of organisational capability in relating and interfacing with its clientele as a whole and with subunits right down to each individual beneficiary;
- (s) what is the degree of organisational capability in relating and interfacing with its environment in general; and
- (t) does the organisation have the humility and the interest in learning from its mistakes and failures? Does it adapt appropriately in the light of feedback from its own behaviour and from the actual results?

Quality of Implementers

In the final analysis, the quality of performance in programme implementation is vitally dependent upon the quality of the individuals engaged in its implementation: (i) Do they have the requisite managerial, behavioural, intellectual, technical, social and political skills and competence? (ii) Do they have a clear understanding of their roles and responsibilities? (iii) What is their degree of motivation and commitment to the objectives of the programme? (iv) What is their attitude towards the beneficiaries? (v) Do they resolve conflicts generally in favour of the weakest sections or do they generally side with the **status quo**? (vi) What is their degree of psychological maturity? (vii) To what degree are they committed to ethical conduct and behaviour? That is, to what degree are they part of the solution to the nation's most critical problems relative to the degree to which they themselves are the origin of the problems?

Clientele Characteristics

(i) What is the level of organisation among programme beneficiaries? (ii) To what extent are they able to put pressure and demand effective performance from the implementing organisations and the implementers? (iii) What is their economic, social and political situation? (iv) What opportunities have they received for education and training? (v) What opportunities do they have for regular employment?

Communication and Information System

(i) Is there an effective flow of communications within and between the implementing organisations? (ii) Are upward channels of communication open and accurate? (iii) Is there an adequate system of feedback from results? Is continuous monitoring and evaluation of the quality of cooperation and performance built into the normal functioning of the organisations? (iv) Is effective contact maintained with the target groups? Are their grievances listened to and solutions found for their problems? (v) Is there an adequate system for assessing and planning for the changing needs of the target groups? (vi) Are the implementing organisations making effective use of media and other mass communication techniques to provide relevant cognitive, ideological and informational inputs to their staff, clientele, the wider network of organisations to which they are interrelated and to the general public?

Macro Level Support and Enforcement System

Successful implementation also requires institutional mechanisms whereby the Central and State Governments increase the likelihood that local officers will act in a manner consistent with programme objectives. Is there an adequate system of support and enforcement at the macro national and state levels? Simultaneously, is there adequate support available from the

local political leadership and the wider village community?

Sociopolitical and Technoeconomic Conditions

- (a) How and to what extent are the prevailing environmental social, political, technological and economic conditions negative or positive vis-a-vis the programme?
- (b) How and to what extent will the prevailing social, political, technological and economic conditions be affected by the implementation of the programme?
- (c) What is the attitude of the local elites with regard to the implementation of the programme?
- (d) To what extent is the community in general, particularly the majority comprising the weaker sections, active and well organised in its support of and participation in the programme?

Performance and Impact

- (a) What is the degree of achievement of the stated objectives of the programme?
- (b) What progress has been made vis-a-vis the more intangible, qualitative objectives?
- (c) What improvements have occurred in the organisational and administrative capabilities of local organisations?
- (d) What attitudinal and behavioural transformations have occurred in the clientele groups?
- (e) What developments have occurred in the community at large?
- (f) How and to what extent have resources meant for the weaker sections been siphoned off by the rural elite?
- (g) How and to what extent have resources meant for the weaker sections been siphoned off by the implementing agencies and the implementers?

Finally, as a parting comment, we wish to emphasise one generic facet of the art of case writing, a quality that should shape every case writer's mind. This is the ability and attitude of visualising himself as the reader of the case study and, from that perspective, being willing to work to improve the study until it shares a dimension common to all works of art--an intangible feel of excellence.

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Managing Poverty Alleviation : Some Suggestions

JAIDEEP SINGH AND R.K. TIWARI

Since the beginning of the Sixth Five-Year Plan concerted attempts have been made on a comparatively large scale to alleviate poverty in the rural areas. Primarily, three factors have been responsible for this: failure of the trickle down approach in providing benefits to the poor; land reform measures were not implemented vigorously and thus could not contribute much to the alleviation of poverty; the agricultural growth strategy improved the incomes and well-being of the already well-to-do while conditions for the poor remained stagnant or deteriorated. During the Sixth Five Year Plan and also in the Seventh Plan, the major thrust of the poverty alleviation strategy is through self-employment programmes mainly, the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and wage employment programmes, i.e., the National Rural Employment Programme and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme. Before launching the new strategy, a number of administrative measures were taken for more effective implementation of these programmes. The most important of these was the establishment of the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) for providing direction, supervision and monitoring of these programmes. It has been claimed by the Government of India that due to the implementation of IRDP the poverty ratio has been brought down by 11 per cent during the Sixth Plan. There are others who dispute this. To understand the dynamics of implementation of poverty alleviation programmes we invited selected officials engaged in executing these programmes to write their experiences.

The first study is "A Comprehensive Approach to Block

Plan Preparation" and deals with the methodology adopted by the author for the preparation of a block plan. One criticism against the contemporary method of district level or block level plan preparation is that it does not take into account the actual needs and resources position of each village. It has been stressed in this study that these plans do not take into account the felt needs of the beneficiaries. Also, the plans based on the present household surveys do not give emphasis to valuable schemes like minor irrigation and industry sector schemes. The novel feature of the methodology adopted by the author in the preparation of a block plan consists of detailed village plan preparation and sectoral plan preparation within the framework of the guidelines provided by the Government of India. Based on both the above mentioned plans, district potentialities and block potentialities for each scheme and sector were determined. Another valuable contribution of this study is that it highlights the importance of detailed individual and family based project formulation as part of sectoral plan preparation.

The study on "Brick Kiln in Jhanyharpur Block in Madhubani District, Bihar" captures very vividly and intensely the problems in a cooperative venture under IRDP. Poor information flow to beneficiaries and opposition of vested interests become major impediments. When the Block Development Officer (BDO) approached the beneficiaries with the proposal of setting up a brick kiln most of them could not believe that it is possible. This raises the serious question that though these programmes are being implemented for more than a decade, the poor are not aware about the various possible projects and programmes meant for them. Also emphasised is the manner in which the rural elite, so as to maintain the *status quo*, intimidate the beneficiaries and try to scuttle the scheme. In this case, the private brick kiln manufacturers threatened the beneficiaries (who were earlier engaged as workers with the private brick kiln manufacturers) that they would not engage them if they joined the government sponsored venture. The manufacturers even told these beneficiaries that they would never be able to return the bank loans and if they joined this venture

their possessions would be attached. As a consequence of this, it became very difficult for the block administration to persuade the beneficiaries to form a cooperative society. In order to bolster their confidence, the BDO along with the Block Agriculture Officer became members of the executive committee of the cooperative society and also gave their assurance to the members of the society regarding uninterrupted supply of coal, purchases of bricks and other facilities.

This study has also highlighted the indifferent attitudes of lower level functionaries and the problem of dilatory and corrupt practices in government activities. In the registration of the society, the district cooperative officer raised certain trivial objections and even these objections were communicated after a considerable delay. Subsequently, it was suggested that in order to avoid further delay it would be better if the society is registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. The dealing clerk wanted money to move the papers. It was only due to the intervention of the District Magistrate who took up this matter with the senior officials that the society got registered.

It is often argued that government policy makes it possible for both loan and subsidy components to be made available for various programmes from financial institutions like banks, service cooperative societies, etc. However, this study has shown that the banks refused to provide even a loan on one pretext or the other. In the end the district administration had to turn to a private person for a loan to start the work. Subsequently, it was due to the leadership initiative of the District Magistrate that financial resources were provided by the state department of rural development against the promise of supply of bricks by the proposed society.

This study has also brought to the surface an important organisational lacuna relating to the implementation of IRDP. At the block level, although there are supervisors for programmes like agriculture, animal husbandry, welfare, cooperatives and statistics, there is no functionary specifically charged with the responsibilities of priority

programmes of rural development like IRDP, NREP, TRYSEM, etc. Consequently, most of the anti-poverty programmes are implemented in an adhoc manner. The study reinforces the need for active involvement of the block and district administration as it was due to this that the brick kiln society consisting of poor harijans could compete successfully with the private manufacturers.

The study on "Implementation of Integrated Rural Development Programme in Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu" has brought out that in the planning process, the block functionaries did not make a thorough household survey. As a consequence, eligible persons were not included in the scheme. Furthermore, the selection list was not placed before the gram sabha for its approval. This study shows that the block administration did not properly disseminate the information regarding the programme to the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries were not aware of the details of the programme. Most of the beneficiaries were not aware of the advantages of keeping a passbook and vikas patrika. Furthermore, the beneficiaries were pressurised to remit the loans much before the required period of repayment. Therefore, the beneficiaries were not in a position to maintain their assets properly. This was a clear violation of the rules of repayment. As a consequence, some of the beneficiaries had to dispose of their assets. The study further shows that the bank officials were unhelpful to the beneficiaries in other ways. For example, there were delays in adjustment of subsidy although the subsidy amount was already made available to the bank. This resulted in unfairly charging the beneficiaries with interest burden. The bank also charged higher rates of interest for certain schemes. Particularly, we may note that the block agency was satisfied with merely introducing the schemes in the villages and fulfilling allocation targets rather than achieving the real objectives of the programme.

The President of the Milk Producers Society was instrumental in taking the programme to the village. However, the beneficiaries were not informed by the President about the quantity of the milk procured from them,

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the rate at which the milk was procured, the amount payable to the beneficiaries, the amount paid in the bank towards repayments, etc. The study shows that the local block officials failed to intervene and check the bankers and the President of the Milk Producers Society regarding premature recoveries from the beneficiaries.

The block agency was not committed to taking the necessary follow-up actions. The concentrates were not made available to the animals. Periodically, the animals were not tested by the extension staff and adequate health care was not provided. Anti-sterility campaign was not organised in the villages. The study shows, however, that the workload of the BDO is very heavy. He is in charge of implementing a large number of works. As a consequence, he is unable to concentrate on the implementation of the IRDP. The author recommends the creation of a post of an additional BDO to exclusively look after the implementation of the anti-poverty programmes. This study has also pointed out the need for improvement in the knowledge and skills of the rural welfare officers. Only after acquisition of functional attitudes, knowledge and skills would they be able to extend useful service to the beneficiaries.

The study on "Poultry Complex at Mylardevapally in Ranga Reddy District, Andhra Pradesh" shows that the collector had been in a hurry to establish a poultry complex and not much effort was put into planning the scheme in a logical manner, linking it with marketing arrangements, technical facilities, proper feed inputs, veterinary care, etc. Even the administrative responsibilities were divided between the Poultry Corporation (PC) and the District Animal Husbandry Department (DAHD). The beneficiaries were made dependent on the PC for supply of feed, medicines, collection and sale of eggs and birds and managing the accounts of the complex. On the other hand, DAHD was made responsible for training the beneficiaries in poultry and for providing veterinary supervision, etc. The local veterinary officer was made responsible for each complex. Since the scheme was planned in a hurried manner the selection of the beneficiaries was left to the lower level functionaries without proper supervision from the block and

district officers. In addition, there was inadequate communication between the block administration and the beneficiaries so much so that they were not even clear about the ownership of the sheds. The beneficiaries were paid Rs. 200 per month irrespective of the production. This resulted in lack of involvement of the beneficiaries in the scheme. The PC supplied feed of inferior quality and that too, irregularly. To a considerable extent, the diffusion of responsibilities between the PC and the DAHD was dysfunctional for the scheme. This study pinpoints the weaknesses of the scheme as follows: inadequate planning, lack of clarity in demarcation of administrative responsibilities with consequent difficulties of communication and coordination and non-involvement of the beneficiaries.

In the study "District Level Computerisation--The Karwar Experiment" the author outlines his experience of developing a computer based information system for rural development at the district level. A number of poverty alleviation programmes sponsored by both central and state governments are being implemented in the districts. In both these types of programmes a great deal of information is required for the purpose of planning, implementation, monitoring and review. Judicious selection of schemes requires access to information on infrastructural facilities, number of poor (their categorisation in terms of income, assets, sex, age, caste, etc.), identification of villages on a cluster basis, information on economically viable schemes, data on the distribution of bank credit, release of subsidy, purchase of assets, etc. Similarly, for the planning of NREP projects we require data for identification of poverty concentration areas and identification of the felt needs of the area, gram panchayatwise list of assets already created under the employment programmes, data for ensuring that useful works are taken up in each area, data for monitoring and controlling the quality and progress of the works, data for ensuring timely and full release of foodgrains and cash component of wages, etc. In the absence of information on a number of aspects as mentioned above, the district rural

development agency is unable to play an effective role in the management of poverty alleviation programmes. With the introduction of the microprocessor in Karwar district, it became possible to have a high degree of readily available useful information. This was developed by utilising the existing surveys and proforma returns. Similarly, for area development programmes, a data bank was created on all the villages in the district. With the creation of this data bank it became possible to plan projects in a logical manner. We can easily visualise that a computer based information system in each district and later in each block of the nation can serve as a most powerful causal force for the effective planning and management of poverty alleviation.

The sixth study in this volume relates to the implementation of land reforms in Kerala which is one of the few states in the country where land reform measures have been successfully carried out. The Kerala Land Reforms Act of 1970 has many distinguishing features: the state government took up the responsibility for getting proprietary rights for the tenants, for fixation of ceiling on landholdings and for the distribution of surplus land to the landless. As a consequence of this, by 1981, surplus land was distributed to approximately ninety thousand persons of whom fifty per cent were from scheduled castes and tribes.

It is a well known fact that extreme fragmentation of landholdings is a serious impediment to efficient farming. Unfortunately, in our country, a large proportion of landholdings are still not consolidated. Our final study provides understanding of consolidation work in Himachal Pradesh. Although the consolidation operations were started in the state in 1954, very slow progress occurred primarily due to paucity of financial resources. Since 1982-83, the work of consolidation has been stepped up. The study portrays the valuable achievements of the recent efforts and also highlights the necessity of allocation of substantially increased human and financial resources for more dynamic and fruitful progress in the years ahead.

Primarily based on the seven case studies in this volume, given below are some suggestions for managing the process of

poverty alleviation more effectively:

1. There is a dysfunctional diffusion of responsibility in the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. What is required is a strengthened organisational set-up in the field which gives adequate weightage to the implementation of IRDP. Since results oriented systemic coordination of supporting services from various departments and agencies would be required, it seems necessary in the present bureaucratic framework, to utilise personnel of substantial seniority for leadership responsibilities. IAS and other officers with a minimum of fifteen years relevant experience should be carefully chosen for the overall leadership responsibilities both at the block and district levels. Psychological maturity, absolute integrity and total commitment to being direct and catalytic causal agents for improving the life of the poor should be the key personality, attitudinal and behavioural characteristics for selection to these roles. The strengthened organisational set-up at the block level, and a strengthened DRDA at the district level and the department at the state level should be absolutely clear about their primary reason for existence, i.e., the judicious and effective management of IRDP and other poverty alleviation programmes and ensuring a sharp reduction in the misutilisation and misappropriation of allocated resources through widespread dilatory, wasteful and corrupt practices.
2. The present operative policy of frequent transfers of the key personnel of DRDA such as Project Directors and Project Officers is dysfunctional. In the strengthened organisation, another key criterion for selection of the senior field officers (both at the block and district levels) should be that only those officers who view such a field assignment as deeply significant and meaningful

should be selected. A five-year period in the field should be followed by a five-year period in functionally related policy positions at the state or central government level. The most valuable idea of a substantial tenure in the field followed by a position at headquarters followed again by a tenure in the field and so on should now become operative policy instead of a policy on paper.

3. Communication with the current and potential beneficiaries is presently very poor and the strengthened delivery system would have to radically transform this state of affairs. To explain the various possible projects that could be taken up, the incentives available for undertaking them, the entitlements under various schemes, for sharing other vital information, for discussing reactions, clarifying doubts, creating confidence, etc., intensive interaction through face to face communication is necessary. Strengthening the understanding and motivation of field workers at the village level through investments in training and the creation of monetary incentive schemes along with promotional opportunities are some of the important steps to be taken.
4. Micro level planning has to be greatly strengthened. Thus, detailed individual and family based plans have to be formulated keeping in view the distinctive interests and talents of each individual and family, detailed village plans have to be developed and dovetailed with sectoral plans. Bottom-up planning should play an increasingly important role in the process of socioeconomic development.
5. A computer based information system in each district of the nation and later, in each block, can serve as a most powerful causal force for the effective planning and management of poverty alleviation. Naturally, this should be an integral subsystem of the strengthened organisational system.
6. Currently, follow-up action by functionaries leaves much to be desired. Their focus seems to be on the

achievement of allocation targets, i.e., input variables. What is urgently required is to make them give their attention to the actual outcomes, the benefits made by the so-called beneficiaries, the end results. The performance evaluation of the functionaries should be based, to a much greater degree than at present, on the actual gains made by the clients.

7. The problem of social constraints on implementation, of vested interests, of siphoning of benefits by the dominant and affluent sections, has also to be managed. It would be necessary to neutralise this restraining force on the implementation efforts. Possibly, if effort was put into depicting the overall benefits and growth opportunities that would accrue to the vested interests through the creation of opportunities for socio-economic development of the poor resulting in a more vibrant village economy, an increasingly integrated agro-industrial-services-business economy, they could be educated into playing a less negative role and may be, some day, they too could become positive, driving forces for development with social justice. Needless to add, the delivery system would have to be radically redirected to play a strong proactive role in support of the backward classes and the weaker sections.
8. Currently, there is very little involvement of beneficiaries in the development decision-making process. Activating the Panchayati Raj network of institutions with built-in structured safeguards in favour of the weaker sections, stimulating the mobilisation and organisation of the masses, awakening their dormant unlimited potential for self leadership and voluntary effort, catalysing their capacity to make demands and put pressures on the delivery system to protect and serve their interests are other vital and important thrusts urgently required, so as to develop by the turn of the century, a more humanistic India in which the worst forms of mass poverty and destitution are memories of the past

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instead of shameful realities of the present.

9. A systemic network of other pro-poor programmes like land reforms, enforcement of minimum wages, an efficient and effective public distribution system, access of the rural poor to basic needs and facilities like nutrition, health care, sanitation, drinking water, education, etc., have to be simultaneously strongly strengthened through the judicious use of substantially increased allocations of human and financial resources.

PART II

A Comprehensive Approach to Block Plan Preparation

PRASANTA MAHAPATRA

THE SETTING

Around third week of December 1983 the author was posted as Project Director of DRDA, Nellore, in Andhra Pradesh. The State Government had organised a one-week refresher course in IRDP for all newly posted Project Directors. After this training, the author joined Nellore DRDA on January 2, 1984. Nellore DRDA was born in 1980 from out of the SFDA.

Author's Experience and Aspirations

The author had the opportunity of preparing a Block Plan for IRDP during his training (1982 March) as BDO in Maredumilli of East Godavari District. This was a hilly and tribal area, serviced by one Bank Branch. Thus, the group responsible for preparing a plan for this block consisted of the author, Branch Manager of the Bank Branch, regular Block Development Officer and Block Extension staff. The area to be covered was about 25 per cent of the villages in one block. The plan formulating group as well as the area of operation was small. As a result the author could give personal attention to a large number of details. In the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, a lot of emphasis had been given to IRDP and NREP. The author was also impressed by the "operational guidelines for block plan preparation" issued by Government of India, Ministry of Rural Development. Government of India had accepted the Principles of Antyodaya (of Rajasthan Government) to be adopted for selection of IRDP beneficiaries. The plan strategy, as understood by the author, had gradually evolved from "growth and trickle down" approach (National Extension

Programmes of Second and Third Five-Year Plans, Green Revolution) through "growth and social justice" of Fourth Five-Year Plan to growth through social justice of Sixth Five Year Plan. The National Extension Programme had gradually receded to the background and the target group oriented approach of direct intervention had become the primary approach. The objective was to achieve growth by increasing the productive capacity of the poor. The objective of IRDP is to give productive capital assets in the hands of the poor, so that production goes up, people get benefit out of the incremental income and the rural economy is diversified. This was the author's understanding of the objectives of IRDP and its fit in the overall national perspective. The author had the aspiration to prepare a block plan which would translate these policies into an action plan document. As Maredumilli is a tribal and hilly area with low population density, the scope for secondary and tertiary sector schemes was very limited. The author conducted a large number of Gram Sabhas along with a general survey of land resources around each village. Schemes were formulated at the Gram Sabha itself as the variety of schemes was limited, their complexity low and the author was present in the Gram Sabhas.

The author was posted as Sub-Collector, Gudur around November 1982. The IRDP Plan preparation for 1983-84 was started by DRDA around January 1983 and the author participated in the preparation of five block plans in his division, as Chairman of BLCC. This time the Gram Sabhas had to be conducted through teams of officers as the number of villages were quite high. This provided some experience in achieving objectives through others. For example, the need for detailed scheme documents and more number of standard schemes was very much felt while trying to get the Gram Sabhas conducted through a large number of officers. Another important aspect that came out during this period is that most of the officers at field level like Extension Officers, BDO's and Bank Branch Officers have little idea or appreciation of the macro economic perspective and macro level plan priorities or having got such appreciation they gradually become more identified with the local demands.

Sometimes the local demands are insensitive to general macro economic impulses and macro level plan priorities. On the other hand, the need for flexibility in sectoral plan given by DRDA was also felt necessary. The sectoral outlay for each block was fixed by DRDA and the author could make a few changes by discussion with the Collector and Project Director, DRDA. These were the experiences with which the author joined as Project Director, DRDA and with the aspiration of preparing ideal block plans for IRDP.

Key Personalities

A few personalities made significant contributions to the author's experience as Project Director, DRDA and his attempt to prepare ideal block plans. The District Collector was herself committed to proper implementation of all antipoverty programmes and believed in good plan preparation. She had worked as Executive Director of the S.C. Finance Corporation at the state level and had had the opportunity of looking at district level antipoverty programme plans from an overall state perspective. She took over as Collector, Nellore around May 1982. Prior to that, IRDP was being implemented in a scattered way without any planned location specificity. She enforced the cluster approach by allocating villages among different plan years. She ensured greater involvement of Bank Officers in plan preparation, particularly in formulation of new schemes and preparation of scheme documents.

The Lead District Manager was an amicable senior manager and commanded respect of many Bank Officers as well as Government Officers. He was responsible in bringing about a lot of coordination between Government and Bank Officers. The Lead Bank Officer was a young man sincere at his job and looked after a lot of details. He had the full confidence of the LDM and also had very good relations with many officers in different banks. The Joint Director, Animal Husbandry, was responsible for two districts with headquarters at Nellore. He was receptive and believed in keeping up technical standards while implementing any project. One functional Manager of DIC provided the technical support for the ISB sector. The General Manager, DIC and Deputy

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Director, Agriculture and other Sectoral Officers were busy in their own programmes.

The Standing Committee of Bankers was being conducted regularly and was a forum for discussion of all policy matters.

Decision Making Process

The District Collector is the single most important person in the decision making process of IRDP Plan Preparation. As Chairman of DRDA she had to approve the broad strategies of plan preparation. As Head of District Administration she had to instruct all field staff to implement a particular strategy and as Chairman of the Standing Committee she influenced the opinion of the bankers and could lead them to a particular decision. The Standing Committee consisted of controlling officers of major participating banks and a representative of Reserve Bank of India. This Committee also had to be convinced about the soundness of a strategy of plan preparation and only then full participation of the bankers could be expected.

Adoption of Author's Ideas

On January 2, 1984, the author called on the Collector. Preparation of action plan for 1984-85 was one of the eleven works discussed by the Collector. In terms of Collector's priority it ranked fifth. She also advised the author to involve certain bank officers in the plan preparation process. On January 5, a bankers meeting had been organised and the author utilised this opportunity to discuss his ideas on plan preparation. The strategy advocated by the author consisted of simultaneously:

- (a) Village Plan Preparation; and
- (b) Sectoral Plan Preparation.

Village Plan Preparation would consist of steps like household survey, basic villagewise data collection and conduct of Gram Sabhas. Household survey and villagewise data collection is done by block staff. Gram Sabha is conducted by a Joint Identification Team consisting of the

Banker, one Extension Officer of the Block and Village Level Workers of the Block and the Revenue Department. The household survey schedules and the basic village level data are made available to the Joint Identification Team and the Gram Sabha. The Joint Identification Team studies the microeconomy of the village and forms an opinion about potential economic activity feasible in the village. With the help of this knowledge the Joint Identification Team interviews the poor families and arrives at the mix of schemes for each family. Based on this the draft Village Plan is prepared.

The Sectoral Plan preparation would consist of identification of economic self-employment opportunities in each sector, preparation of detailed scheme documents for each type of employment opportunity. Basic village level data and data on infrastructural facilities in the District and Blocks are collected. Potentiality for each scheme is assessed by applying the scheme specifications to the data on Village, Block and District level infrastructure. The schemewise and sectoral allocation is made on the basis of available potentiality and the national and regional priority attached to it. The district allocation is further devolved to block level on the basis of potentiality. The DRDA would seek the help of officers from Banks, Government Departments and any other institutions for identification of self-employment opportunities and preparation of scheme documents. Most of the bankers were convinced on the strategy suggested by the author. Detailed programme for 1984-85 action plan preparation was drawn up with the help of the Lead Bank Officer and Assistant Director, Planning and Statistics. The next day detailed instructions were issued to BDOs regarding conduct of special BLCCs. On the same day, a meeting was held with certain selected Bank Officers to prepare new schemes and area development projects.

On January 11, the author met the Collector, appraised her about the programme for action plan preparation, the details of strategy proposed to be followed and also discussed with her about a flow chart for preparation of Land Development Projects.

The author was quite surprised to find that the Collector did not approve of the strategy. She was against the conduct of Gram Sabha for plan preparation. She argued that Gram Sabha would only result in a shopping list of beneficiary choices. No serious thought would even be given to desirable but difficult schemes like minor irrigation. She believed that ISB sector should be minimised and minor irrigation should form the major part of the programme. Opportunity for minor irrigation schemes cannot be identified in a Gram Sabha. The beneficiary himself may not think of the possibility. The author agreed with most of these apprehensions and wanted to assure the Collector that the quality of work in Gram Sabha could be improved by proper training and follow-up. As there are a large number of programmes having budgetary provision for minor irrigation schemes, funds are never a constraint for these schemes. The author also wanted to assure her that special investigations for land based schemes were being carried out and even if minor irrigation schemes are not properly identified in the Gram Sabha, these could be ultimately fitted in. Subsequently, when she was interviewed for this case study, her view became a little more clear. She felt that activity homogeneity among a group of poor is required for the extension departments to do a good follow-up job. But a Gram Sabha could throw up different schemes for different people and hence it would be difficult to ensure activity homogeneity. It is also difficult to decide the sectorwise model for a village in the Gram Sabha. Unless full coverage of all poor families is made, Gram Sabha could be fruitless. The contention that one can know the felt-needs of the beneficiary in the Gram Sabha is a myth. Only when there is scope for long interaction, will it be possible to know the felt-need of a beneficiary. But in many Gram Sabhas, there won't be any scope for long interaction. The Collector further felt that among the poor there is no point in selecting the poorest, because the poorest would normally have low entrepreneurial ability and their capacity to take up high investment schemes would be low. The author felt that this is only partially true and in any case cannot be a valid

argument against Gram Sabha. But due to paucity of time it was not possible for the author to clarify these points to the Collector. The difference of opinion continued. The author went ahead to implement his own understanding of the programme, despite objections because: (i) the author did not perceive any radical difference of opinion with the Collector; (ii) programme of action had been chalked out and certain instructions had already been sent; (iii) author wanted to test his ideas in the field, instead of entering into theoretical discussions; and (iv) the Government of India guidelines tended to support the viewpoint of the author.

The author also perceived that a different factor might have been the reason for the Collector not being happy. The Collector had given him a lot of works and plan preparation was one of them. The most important work in the Collector's mind was implementation of the previous year's action plan. Within five days of joining in the post the author talked to the Collector about plan preparation but did not discuss anything about current plan implementation. This might have led her to believe that in the author's priorities plan implementation did not have a role. The fact is that the author was very much paying attention to current plan implementation, but there were no issues on that to be discussed with the Collector and hence did not raise the subject. However, as hindsight, the author feels that this was not good strategy on his part.

In the month of March, when the author was away on leave, the Collector in a review meeting of all BDOs, very emphatically asked everybody to complete the Gram Sabhas at the earliest. She directed all BDOs to follow the instructions of the author and this gave tremendous boost to the pace of implementation of plan preparation work. It was a pleasant surprise for the author. Subsequently, when the then Collector was interviewed in connection with this case study, she gave the following reasons for having done so: (i) certain instructions had already been issued; (ii) field functionaries must have consistency in instructions, irrespective of difference of opinion among senior officers at the District level; and (iii) the Project Director, in any

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case, was not committing a crime. It was only implementation of another viewpoint for a programme which is in a stage of experimentation.

This act of the Collector settled whatever little doubt some officers had in their mind. From then onwards the author had a free hand in preparation of block plans.

Preliminary Preparations by DRDA

Before setting in motion both the processes of Village Plan preparation and Sectoral Plan preparation certain preliminary exercises had to be done by the DRDA. On January 18, a training class for Progress Assistants and others was conducted for household survey.

Special BLCC meetings were convened between January 23 and January 28 in each block by giving sufficient advance notice to bankers as well as block staff. As the year 1984-85 was the last year of the Sixth Five year plan, all uncovered villages were provisionally selected for coverage during the year 1984-85. The provisional list was circulated among the bankers as well as the Block Staff. The Block Staff were asked to collect relevant villagewise data, for example: population statistics, Green ration cards, land use pattern, available grazing and forest land, live stock census, agricultural pumpset connections by Electricity Department, irrigation sources, land holding data, cropping pattern, nearest bank, communication status, past coverage under beneficiary oriented programmes and other basic village data. The bankers were expected to collect their own data. The final list of villages to be covered in the action plan was drawn up in a special BLCC and also the bankwise allotment of villages was done there. The basic data for each village, referred to above, was of help to the BLCC for arriving at a decision. The detailed mode of conducting Gram Sabha and Village Plan Preparation was explained to all concerned including the Bank Officers and Block Extension Staff. Thus the Special BLCCs served two purposes: (a) finalisation of cluster villages and their financing bank; and (b) explaining the detailed method and every one's role in preparation of Village Plans.

In order to provide clerical assistance for Sectoral Plan

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preparation, a separate sectoral section was opened in the DRDA office. This section consisted of two clerks for agriculture and minor irrigation sectors and one clerk each for ISB sector and Animal Husbandry Sector. These clerks were responsible for keeping files and papers relating to schemes, document preparation, keeping track of correspondence with different people for preparation of sectoral plans, etc. For each economic self-employment opportunity identified, a separate file was opened for preparation of scheme documents, so that each case could be followed up. On January 7, a visit was made to Madras and a good number of books relevant to rural development were purchased, which formed the nucleus of a library that was eventually set up in the DRDA. A librarian was appointed and efforts were made to collect books, periodicals, Industrial and Commercial Directories, literature from Central Laboratories, etc., relevant to rural development.

VILLAGE PLAN PREPARATION

The methodology for Village Plan Preparation was explained to all field staff in the special Block Level Coordination Committees (BLCCs). The Joint Identification Team was made responsible for preparation of plans for villages allotted to them. The Joint Identification Team consisted of: (a) Branch Manager or Field Officer of the concerned Bank who is the team leader; (b) Block Development Officer or his representative not below the rank of an Extension Officer; (c) Village Development Officer (i.e., Village Level Worker); and (d) Village Assistant from Revenue Department, who has the land records of the village.

In case the village had a known potentiality for schemes of a particular sector, an appropriate officer from the concerned department, would also form a part of the Joint Identification Team. The kingpin of Village Plan Preparation is the Gram Sabha. However, certain preliminary work has to be done by the Village Development Officer and other Block Extension Staff before a Gram Sabha can be convened.

Household survey is the most important preliminary work.

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Apart from other details required in the prescribed proforma, the names of other members of the family and their ages were also collected. The findings of the household survey were posted in a register called the BOP (Beneficiary Oriented Programmes) Applications Register. Its proforma is given on next page.

This register is maintained at the Block level and Villagewise. As soon as the household survey is completed the required information should immediately be posted in this register. Apart from these families, if any additional family is found to be eligible during the conduct of Gram Sabha an household survey form should be administered in the Gram Sabha itself and the case entered in this register. There will be instances of families who are neither enumerated at the time of household survey nor in the Gram Sabha and have put in a representation to either the Minister, District Collector or the Divisional Officer; such cases can also be entered in the BOP Applications Register and the relevant information posted after due enquiry. In no case shall the columns be filled without an independent verification of the information by the Samithi Staff. In practice the number of such cases would be very low. The concerned clerk in the Samithi Office should take care to find out whether the case of a petitioner already finds place in the applications register. If the case has already been registered there is no need to register it again.

The following dicta were to be scrupulously followed by the Block Office: (a) The basic unit of entry into the BOP applications register is a family. Family includes all those persons who partake cooking either in the same vessel or in the same kitchen. (b) One family shall be entered once and no more.

The second important preliminary work done by the Block Staff is collection of as much basic data on the village as is possible. Collection of data on a village consists of three distinct categories:

1. Economic resource data on the village. This is almost the same as that collected for the special

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BOP APPLICATIONS REGISTER

Sl. No.	Name of the Head of the family, age & Father's Name Date	Names of other Members	Their Age	Total No. of Members in Family
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

Land operated for all members put together (Acres & Cents)			Total equivalent (Dry Acres & cents)	Annual family Income (Rupees)				
Sl. No.	Extent	Classi- fica- tion		Agrl.	Agrl. lab- our	Ani- mals	Others	Total
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)

VILLAGE:

Annual per capita income	Recommen- dations of Gram Sabha, i.e., Schemes proposed or if re- jected reasons thereof	Decision of B L C C Schemes Program- mes		If Rejected reasons	Initials of Chairman BLCC
(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)

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BLCC. Any fresh data received after BLCC is also included.

2. Credit Status data like borrower list and defaulter list of persons in the village financed by all banks operating in the village for example, PACs (Cooperative Central Bank), Cooperative Agriculture Development Bank and commercial banks if any. This information is collected by the BDO by addressing the Co-operative banks having jurisdiction over the village and commercial banks known to be operating there.
3. Specific Project data. This consists of details of any scheme or project which might have been already investigated or thought of either by DRDA, Sectoral Department or Block, pertaining to that village. For example, a land development project might have been formulated or may be in an advanced stage of investigation. A dairy project, an artisan complex might have already been conceived of in the village. Copies of Project Report if any, or any other write-up about the project as well as the beneficiary list are brought to the Gram Sabha. For provision of this data, the DRDA plays a major role in collecting details of specific projects being thought of by various sectoral departments as well as DRDA itself and disseminating the same to the relevant BDOs.

The third preliminary work is fixation of a programme for the Gram Sabha. This is done only after the household survey and the data collection work for a village has been completed. The programme for a Gram Sabha is fixed in a regular BLCC. The data is fixed in the presence of the BDO, Revenue Department Representative, Banker and VDO concerned. The programme can be fixed outside the BLCC provided all the three of them meet at a time and are sure of the availability of the Village Assistant. Programme for a Gram Sabha consists of: (a) fixation of a date, time and place for conduct of the Gram Sabha; (b) nomination of an Extension Officer by the BDO to the J.I. Team; and (c) decision regarding participation of Sectoral Department

Officer if any.

While fixing a date for Gram Sabha, care is taken to ensure at least 7 days gap between the date of drawing up the programme and the date of Gram Sabha.

The last step of preliminary works are to be done during the gap between fixation of programme and date of Gram Sabha and involves: (a) notice given by BDO to villagers regarding conduct of Gram Sabha, by beat of tom tom and published by the Village Assistant of Revenue Department; (b) notice to the Gram panchayat concerned with a request to publicise the fact among the Villagers; (c) the VDO goes to the village at least two or three days prior to the Gram Sabha day and personally informs opinion leaders of all localities in the village, specifically the Harijanwadas and Girijanwadas; (d) during the same period, the banker is expected to collect as much information about the village as possible, to supplement the data collected by the Block Staff; and (e) all members of the J.I. Team are encouraged to night halt in the village, because: (i) credibility of development administration regarding conduct of Gram Sabha is established and hence attendance would be higher; (ii) the interface of the J.I. Team members and villagers is increased and hence the intensity of interaction is increased and interaction means sources of information for the members of the J.I. Team; and (iii) early morning travel strain on the members of the J.I. Team are non-existent as a result of which they can give their best for the Village Plan Preparation.

The J.I. Team are advised to talk to the people in an informal way and try to ascertain information regarding the sociopolitical process in the village. The very process of primary (face to face) interaction in the village is bound to throw up groups. An overall idea about such things helps the J.I. Team: (i) to know what value and importance will be attributed to the statement of a person or group of persons affiliated to a particular group; (ii) to determine whether grouping of certain persons either for a joint scheme (minor irrigation well, etc.) or for group guarantee documentation is potentially cohesive or factious.

The next set of information the J.I. Team is expected to

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collect in the Gram Sabha is on the state of the economy of the village. This includes the infrastructural resources, constraints and potentialities. Questions like how much grazing ground is available, ground water potentiality, how many carts and bullocks are already existing, etc., help achieve this objective. Collection of such information helps the J.I. Team to verify the correctness of the data collected by the Block Office regarding the village, and also gives additional information on the economic affairs of the village.

The next step is the interview of each family head and formulation of family projects. The three most important goals the J.I. Team seeks to achieve while identifying families and preparing family projects are: (i) openness in conducting the process of selection of a family; (ii) priority on the basis of degree of poverty; (iii) development of a mix of schemes for each family.

While interviewing individual heads of families, the J.I. Team has to ascertain the human and material resource potential. The human resources potential includes quantity (number of work force) and quality (skill level of each labourer). Material resources means land owned, ground water potentiality of the particular land, agricultural implements owned, location of a house near a road junction which can be taken advantage of to locate a shop, etc. After ascertaining the human and material resource potential, and keeping in mind the infrastructural constraints as well as the facilities of the village, the best mix of schemes is drawn up. A good mix of the schemes can be achieved by exploiting two kinds of situations. One is the number of work force and the other is time frame or seasonality of operations. If a family has three working persons, one scheme can be operated by all of them or certain schemes can be operated individually and some others jointly. Seasonality of operation or time frame can be taken advantage of to formulate more than one scheme for the same person. In the village, the agricultural operations are seasonal. There are periods of high employment, underemployment and unemployment.

Economic activities for which there will be a market

demand in these lean periods (for example, Sprayers) or those which can be easily carried on during the lean periods (for example, Matmaking, Readymade Dress making, Notebooks making, etc.), can be administered to the same person. Thus he can do one activity during the peak agricultural season and another during the lean period. When new economic activities are proposed to be introduced to achieve multiplicity of schemes, certain members may have to be trained to acquire the skills for running the additional schemes. Hence, before deciding upon a scheme, the human resources potential has to be kept in mind. It is not necessary that the persons know an activity, but they must have the potentiality to learn.

The whole process of ascertaining the human and material resources potential of the family, comprehending the infrastructural constraints and facilities of the village, considering available schemes or new self-employment ideas, planning training opportunities and arriving at the best mix of schemes for a family is called family project formulation. Interaction with the beneficiary in Gram Sabha for family project formulation is one of the most important aspects of this work.

Apart from family project formulation the J.I. Team also identifies major infrastructural gaps and makes a record of it.

The Village Plan as prepared by the J.I. Team consists of:

- (a) descriptive chapter on infrastructural facilities, potentialities and constraints of the village;
- (b) statement of infrastructural gaps which need to be filled in for success of the Beneficiary Oriented Programme;
- (c) list of eligible families, arranged in order of priority on the basis of the degree of poverty and showing family project proposed for each family; and
- (d) statement of candidates who require training to acquire the skills required to implement the Village Plan.

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The Beneficiary Oriented Programme Applications Register is suitably updated based on the findings in the Gram Sabha.

SECTORAL PLAN PREPARATION

The basic premise of IRDP and other antipoverty Beneficiary Oriented Programmes is that capital productive assets and training for acquiring the skills to operate such assets, wherever required, ought to be made available to the target family, so that the beneficiary can operate the asset, earn incremental income as well as contribute to the diversification of the rural economy and to growth in national production. Thus, self-employment opportunities

which are viable and feasible in the concerned rural area are vital pillars of the programme. In order to implement the programme on a large scale, involving a large administrative machinery, each self-employment opportunity necessarily has to be converted into a well laid out scheme. Schemes are the building blocks of a sectoral plan as well as a block plan. The author during his Sub-collectorship had faced the constraint of lack of variety of schemes and of good detailed scheme documents for available schemes. The sectoral heads of departments, whenever asked to prepare an IRDP Plan, came out with a document predominantly containing proposals for infrastructure development and schemes had to be shown to justify the infrastructure proposals. On the other hand, the author believed that a good sectoral plan ought to consist of:

- (a) list of self-employment opportunities in that sector which are commercially viable and feasible in at least some rural area and appropriate to at least some potential beneficiaries;
- (b) scheme documents giving self contained details of the activity so as to enable the field functionaries of bank and block to ground it as well as enable the beneficiary to operate it;
- (c) special project reports;
- (d) an assessment of the district potential moderated

- by factors such as extension or supporting manpower constraints, state and national priorities, funds availability, etc.; and
- (e) a statement of infrastructural gaps and proposals to fill them up so as to enable the implementation of all schemes in the sector.

The author believed that each component had its importance and could not be allowed to be overshadowed by others. Moreover, the schemes are the foundation to start a sectoral plan and not a crutch for infrastructure proposals.

On January 6, discussions were initiated with the Branch Officer, Ground Water Department regarding data on ground water potential of villages. On January 11, a meeting was held with selected Bank Officers regarding preparation of new schemes. On January 14, the Regional Joint Director, Animal Husbandry was addressed for preparation of scheme documents. On January 20, the first discussion with Manager, DIC was held for formulation of schemes in ISB Sector and on January 30, forestry oriented schemes were discussed with the Social Forestry DFO. Thus the process of Sectoral Plan preparation was set in motion. Discussions on individual schemes as well as the overall features of the sectoral plan were held frequently by the subject matter specialists of DRDA with the Officers of Sectoral Departments. Persons from different sources could also contribute to the plan. The final shape of the sectoral plan was worked out between May 26-30. Though it was a continuous process, it can be conceptually divided into the following six distinct phases: (a) identification of self-employment opportunities; (b) preparation of scheme documents; (c) special project formulation; (d) assessment of district potentiality; (e) moderation and infrastructure plan; and (f) blockwise sectoral plan.

Identification of Self-employment Opportunities

Self-employment opportunities in rural areas can be of two types:

- (a) improvement of existing production system and

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- exploitation of available capital productive assets, for example, land; and
- (b) introduction of new production system and capital productive assets.

The sources from which such ideas could be picked up were as follows: (a) previous action plan document of same DRDA; (b) action plan documents of other RDAs; (c) sectoral departments of Government; (d) discussions with villagers and potential beneficiaries; (e) feedback from Gram Sabhas; (f) publications containing project profiles, for example, Reserved Small, Cottage and Tiny Industries by Government of India, S.B.P. Project Profiles, SIRI's Directory of Industries, etc.; (g) KVIC publications; (h) appropriate technology for publications of research laboratories, technological institutes, etc.; (i) interaction with officers of such laboratories or institutes; (j) creative officers of Banks, Government Departments, etc.; (k) literature from machinery manufacturers, for example, Ambatur Industrial Estate Manufacturers Association; and (l) producers cartels.

While picking up specific self-employment opportunities for further probe the following general principles were kept in mind:

- (i) the average achievable skill level of the potential beneficiaries to operate the system;
- (ii) opportunities, where the unit of production can be operated by one family were preferred;
- (iii) production systems where a major part of the activity could be done by individual beneficiaries or families by sharing essential infrastructure, on cost basis, comprised the next priority. For example, a minor irrigation well with oil engine shared by 5 to 20 families for cultivation of the land allotted to them independently;
- (iv) production systems which necessitated "cooperation" for a major part of the production process were to be taken up as a last resort. Here again, systems which had activities capable of individual

- productivity accounting were preferred;
- (v) opportunities involving introduction of electromotive or automotive power or having a component of electromotive power, were specifically looked for with a view to introduce as many of such schemes as possible.

Preparation of Scheme Documents

The moment a new scheme idea was identified, a separate file was opened for preparation of the scheme documents. Table 1 gives the details of the total number of files opened for preparation of scheme documents and the number of scheme documents that were finally prepared at the time of finalisation of the 1984-85 action plan.

The scheme coordinator is also fixed up at this time. Scheme coordinator is an officer who takes the responsibility of persuing preparation of the scheme documents. The subject matter specialist in DRDA pertaining to that sector was invariably made responsible for this.

The first step after opening a file was to collect copies of available literature on the scheme and file them. Available literature could be in the form of existing scheme documents from the same DRDA, another DRDA, sectoral departments or project profiles from any other source. Description of production process available in any publication, technical and commercial data on machinery involved, etc., was copied and put in the file. In other cases where there was possibility of getting some literature from other institutions, correspondence was initiated with them.

The third step in scheme document preparation was interview of existing operators (entrepreneurs) and study of existing production units. For example, visit to workshops of carpenters at various levels (improvement of existing production systems) or to an exercise notebook making unit (introduction of new product lines). The most important things normally learnt from such visits were: (i) information on various aspects of raw material, like varieties required, procurement sources, minimum economic ordering units, minimum packing unit, etc.; (ii) infor-

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Table 1 TURNOVER OF SCHEME DOCUMENTS FROM SCHEME IDEAS DURING IRDP 1984-85 PLAN PREPARATION IN NELLORE DISTRICT

Sl. No.	Sector	No. of Self employment opportunities identified	No. of Scheme documents prepared at the time of action plan finalisation	Balance Lost sight of	Data collection was not completed	Sent to Standing Committee but approval not received	Sub-total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5a)	(5b)	(5c)	(5d)
1.	Agriculture	20	14	5	-	1	6
2.	Animal Husbandry	10	8	-	2	-	2
3.	Industries	57	21	28	8	-	36
4.	Services	23	20	2	1	-	3
5.	Business	12	7	2	2	1	5
		122	70	37	13	2	52

mation on machinery suppliers; (iii) kind of skill required to operate the activity and normal time taken to acquire the same; (iv) high risk areas; (v) marketing channels; and (vi) possible areas amenable to electromotive, automotive or mechanical power.

Wherever necessary, a sample survey to assess the market potential for the proposed activity as well as possible beneficiary response was done. This was done with the help of economic investigators from DRDA engaged on daily wage basis. Data on cost of machinery, equipments and raw material were collected by obtaining quotations from suppliers or by going round the shops of various suppliers.

The standard assumptions of infrastructure for each scheme were worked out based on the knowledge gained by the above exercise. This essentially means the minimum infrastructural facilities that are assumed to be existing for the scheme to be operative. Normally these things are not reduced to writing and mostly are taken for granted. However, in order to facilitate mass processing of schemes, it was felt necessary to list out each and every infrastructural facility required for operation of the scheme. Table 2 gives an idea of this.

On similar lines the standard assumptions of individual criteria were also worked out for each scheme. This meant the minimum assessable qualification, skill level and other attributes required on the part of a person to operate that scheme. This is also an effective mechanism of translating certain policies into action. For example, persons having some land have the opportunity of taking up both land based activity and a non-land based activity. But an agricultural labourer can't have access to a land based activity. Hence it is in the fitness of things that certain schemes are either reserved for agricultural labourers or at least the small farmers are given less priority. Similarly, some schemes can be reserved for economically weaker sections, i.e., SCs and STs particularly where evaluation studies show better handling of a scheme by them.

Viability study of a proposed scheme involves arriving at the investments required for the scheme, gross return that can be reasonably expected upon operating the scheme and the net profit. Viability study was invariably done with the help of an officer drawn from a Bank. This is a detailed exercise in which all input costs and all output benefits are analysed over a time frame. The financing pattern is proposed after the viability study gives a positive result.

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Table 2 STANDARD ASSUMPTIONS OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND INDIVIDUAL CRITERIA FOR SELECTED SCHEMES

Scheme	Infrastructure	Individual Criteria
Nursery Raising	(a) This scheme can be taken up in places which are by the side of a road, not below the classification of a major district road or a Z.P. Road.	(a) Only SCs and STs are eligible.
	(b) Having irrigation facilities by way of bore wells or open wells.	(b) Only Marginal Farmers or Agricultural Labourers are eligible.
	(c) This scheme should not be taken up in areas where there is good demand for labour round the year, i.e., in delta areas.	(c) The beneficiaries should be between 18 to 50 years of age.
Cross Bred Heifer Calf	(d) Minimum extent of land required is Ac 0.30	(d) Minimum extent of land required is Ac 0.30
	(a) Nearest milk chilling centre must be within a distance of 30 kms.	(a) The individual should have personal knowledge in rearing live-stock.
	(b) Nearest Veterinary Institution having	(b) There must be a minimum of

(1)	(2)	(3)
	the services of a Veterinary Asst. Surgeon must be within a distance of 3 kms.	36 square feet free space near the house of the beneficiary to house animals.
(c) 80 per cent of fodder requirement is met by intensive fodder cultivation. Twenty per cent of fodder requirement is met by open grazing.		(c) The beneficiary must have and must be willing to put an extent of Ac.0.30 land under intensive fodder cultivation.
(d) Minimum number of 10 units must be taken up in one cluster.		(d) The land for fodder must have such irrigation facility as to enable one wetting in 15 days during summer months. If such facility does not exist then the project must include a well which can benefit all beneficiaries.
		(e) Minimum 2 working members

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(1)	(2)	(3)
		must be available.
Air filling and Tube Vulcanising	<p>(a) The village must have a population of more than 1600.</p> <p>(b) It should be centrally located having hinterland of few villages where tyre bullock carts, tractors and motorcycles exist.</p> <p>(c) It must have a bus stop preferably a bus terminus.</p> <p>(d) It must have been electrified.</p>	<p>(a) Candidate must be between 18 to 35 years age.</p> <p>(b) He should be able to read and write.</p> <p>(c) He must be willing to undergo training in some Government Polytechnic or ITI.</p> <p>(d) This scheme is available for Agriculture Labourers and Marginal Farmers only.</p>
Tyre Cart and Bullocks	<p>(a) The village should have a pucca road.</p> <p>(b) The units should be taken up in areas</p>	<p>(a) Only Agricultural Labourers are eligible for this activity.</p> <p>(b) Only SC/ST beneficiaries</p>

(1)	(2)	(3)
	where the population is more than 8000.	are eligible.
	(c) In areas where additional potentiality under transport sector is required the scheme can be taken up.	
Aerated Water Shop	(a) The population of the village should be more than 1600.	(a) Candidate must be between 18 to 35 years of age.
	(b) It must have a bus stop.	
Hand Bore Set	(a) The scheme has to be taken up in villages located in Pennar Delta Swarnamukhi Valley fill and delta and other minor deltaic areas of the district.	(a) The beneficiary should have two working members in his family.
		(b) He should have worked as an Assistant with an existing unit of Hand Bore Set.

Calendar of operations were prepared for schemes having seasonal specificity, for example, Social Forestry, Animal Husbandry schemes, Agriculture sector schemes, etc. The

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calendar of operations consists of: (i) time frame of each action, and (ii) agency or officer responsible for the action. Hence, while drawing up the calendar of operations, the controlling officers of various agencies involved were consulted. Table 3 shows how a calendar of operations looks like for a selected scheme.

Table 3 SOCIAL FORESTRY EUCALYPTUS CALENDAR
OF OPERATIONS

Name of Operation	Season/ Period	Agency/Institution/Officers Responsible
Jungle clearance	June to August	BDO and VDO; Funds: Bank
Deep Ploughing	July to September	BDO and VDO; Funds: Bank
Anti-termite measures	July to September	Pesticides Contractor/Agrl. Officer; Funds: Bank
Planting	September	BDO and VDO; Funds: Bank
Match and Ward	Through- out the year	Periodical checks by VDO and Field Officer of Bank; Release of consumption com- ponent should be tied to survival of adequate number of plants.
Soil working and weeding to retain moisture	April to June	Field Officer of Bank/ Ranger Officer of Forest Department.

The scheme coordinator prepares a draft scheme document in which the results of the above exercises are incorporated. The format of the scheme document varies

from one sector to another and also among the schemes of the same sector. For example, a scheme document in ISB sector would consist of: (i) introduction regarding the production activity; (ii) standard assumptions of infrastructure; (iii) standard assumptions of individual criteria; (iv) training; (v) machinery and equipment (capital investment); (vi) raw materials (working capital); (vii) total investment; (viii) financing pattern; (ix) receipts; (x) economics; (xi) repayment.

In case of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry sectors calendar of operations is a standard addition at the end. Wherever required, necessary details on production process or technical instructions, etc., are added.

The draft scheme is then subjected to in house discussions by circulating the same to Project Director, District Collector and Sectoral Heads of Department. Further modifications are made, wherever required, in response to critical appreciation of the scheme document.

The scheme document is then referred to the Standing Committee for consideration by bankers. Normally the Standing Committee has subgroups for different sectors and each scheme is taken up for detailed discussions in the subgroup. Any queries, doubts, etc., raised by the subgroup are clarified by DRDA either by written reply to the Lead District Manager or by personally being present in the subgroup meeting. The DRDA representative attends the subgroup meeting only when called for otherwise this subgroup is an inner circle of the bankers.

Based on the scrutiny by the subgroup, the Standing Committee either (i) approves the scheme as such; (ii) modifies and approves it or (iii) rejects it.

Only approved schemes are taken up to constitute the Sectoral Plan.

Special Project Formulation

In construction parlance, if scheme documents were to be considered as the building blocks or bricks, special projects could be considered as the pre-fabricated units.

Special projects constitute a project report specifically prepared for a group of beneficiaries linked to

each other through a common thread of either area specificity or activity homogeneity. For example, there are large blocks of assigned lands in cluster villages in Nellore district. In order to integrate all the technical inputs of land development and agriculture, it was planned to formulate and execute land development projects. These land development projects were to integrate the principles of soil conservation, soil science, irrigation water management, cropping pattern and family project formulation. This work was taken up as a continuous process and at the time of finalisation of IRDP Action Plan, seven land development projects had been completed. They were incorporated into the Agricultural Sector Plan. This involved about 813 beneficiaries and had covered about 1133 acres of land with a total outlay of Rs.20.63 lakh.

Special project formulation contributed a major part of the Agricultural Sector Plan. This strategy was also adopted in a small way in other sectors wherever necessary. For example, a Special Village Development Project was prepared for one Fisherman Village under the Fisheries sector.

Assessment of District Potentiality

Assessment of District Potentiality means assessment of the capacity of all cluster villages to sustain a scheme or schemes in a sector. The methods of assessment vary from one scheme to another and from sector to sector. The commonest method (we may call it the infrastructure constraint method) of assessment was to apply the standard assumptions of infrastructure to the villagewise data and find out the villages capable of sustaining that scheme. Threshold population as required in the standard assumptions of infrastructure are further applied to the population data of each village and the total sustainable units arrived at. Then a discount is made for existing units and also non-sponsored efforts for that activity. The result thus obtained are further adjusted based on predictions of beneficiary availability by comparing the standard assumptions of individual criteria with the population data of the villages. For example, in case of

airfilling and tube vulcanising scheme, the villages having population of 1600 or more were listed out. Out of this list, villages which were not electrified and which did not have a bus stop were ticked off. An impressionistic study was made and the total number of units potentially viable was arrived at.

The physical resource constraint method was used for assessing the limitations for certain schemes. For example, the reproduction rate for sheep applied to the existing ewe population gave an idea about the maximum number of additional ewes available per year. The total number of sheep units to be taken up in the district under all programmes were to be restricted to cover this number. The ground water potentiality of the cluster villages reduced by the percentage contribution of SF and MF land to the total available area of the village would give an idea about the maximum number of wells feasible in the village.

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Moderation and Infrastructure Plan

The number of units arrived at by district potentiality assessment as well as the details of special projects were posted on working sheets for sectoral plan preparation. The assessment was further modified on account of various factors. For example, where a veterinary centre was likely to be overloaded with a large number of units the allocation for the animal husbandry scheme had to be reduced to avoid substandard support services. Moderation had also to be done to conform to state and national priorities. For example, the number of units allocated to an Animal Husbandry scheme like sheep or milch cattle had to be scaled down from the potential level to make funds available for more desirable schemes like Tyre Cart, Airfilling and Tube Vulcanising, etc. This is because the former involved transfer of capital assets and the latter meant introduction of capital productive assets. Also the former was an existing production activity and the latter involved diversification of the rural economy. Moderation to achieve intrasectoral prioritisation was also done. For example, milch cattle in preference to sheep units, etc. Discussions were also carried out with sectoral heads of

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departments regarding the infrastructure development required to sustain the plan.

Based on these exercises the district level sectoral plan was prepared. Blockwise sectoral plans were prepared by devoluting the district level sectoral plan to the block level. Interblock allocations were decided on the same principles by which the district potentiality was assessed and the factors on which moderation was done.

BLOCK PLAN PREPARATION

This involves: (a) preparation of bottom up plan based on village plans; (b) obtaining top down plan based on the sectoral plan prepared at the district level; (c) matching of the two in the presence of members of all Joint Identification Teams in that block supervised by a team of officers from DRDA. The information regarding each family recommended for coverage by Gram Sabha was posted in Proforma I and Proforma II. Proforma I was as follows:

Proforma I

Block Level Identifica- tion No.	Name of the Head of the Family, Age & Father's Name	Names of the other members of the Family	Land owned ----- S.No. Extent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4a) (4b)

Annual Income ----- Land A.L. Others Total	Per Capita	Schemes pro- posed (All Schemes pro- posed for any member to be shown)	Remarks(here mention if family was covered in any Scheme before)
(5a) (5b) (5c) (5d)	(6)	(7)	(8)

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The unit of entry in Proforma I is a family. This proforma is written villagewise, i.e., all families proposed to be covered are entered in Seriatum irrespective of the scheme or the mix of schemes proposed for the family. All schemes proposed for a family are shown at one place and there would be only one entry for a family. This was the case even if some of the mix of schemes were to be operated by second or third member of the family. This is important because in all kinds of beneficiary oriented programmes the basic task is economic upliftment of a family and not an individual.

In case of Proforma II the unit of entry is a scheme unit. This was written schemewise for the block as a whole. That means there were as many Proforma II as the number of schemes. While writing the name of the beneficiary, the name of the person who is going to actually operate the unit ought to be written. For example, it had been proposed to administer three schemes to one family as follows:

Head of the Family	:	FP and EM + Plough Bullocks
Wife	:	Agarbathi Manufacture

While writing Proforma II the above information had to be written at three places, i.e., once under FP & EM Scheme, for the second time under Plough Bullocks Scheme (in both these cases name of the head of the family was mentioned as the beneficiary) and the third entry was under Agarbathi Manufacture with the wife's name being entered as the beneficiary. However, in all three places, the Block Level Identification number of the family were to be the same.

The following data were compiled from out of the consolidated Proformas I and II of all cluster villages in a block:

- (a) total number of families proposed to be covered;
- (b) total number of families proposed to be covered categorywise, i.e., SF, MF, AL and castewise;
- (c) sectoral distribution of schemes, i.e., scheme-wise total number of units;
- (d) average per family unit cost; and

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Proforma II

This proforma is to be written scheme wise covering all villages in one statement.

B.L.I. No.	Scheme No.	Name of the Candidate	Caste	Total land owned	Total Income
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

Per Capita Income	Unit Cost	Margin Money	Subsidy/ of SCA	Commercial Bank Assistance
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)

Name of the financing Institution	Resolution of the BLCC, i.e., whether the case is recommended or rejected
(12)	(13)

(e) average number of units per family.

Apart from the above, proposed programmewise draft Proforma I and II were also prepared by the BDO and Samiti Officials on the basis of their knowledge of the peculiarity of various programmes. For example, all schemes needing large investments by way of infrastructure were to be included in non IRDP plan. All schemes having very low unit costs of say Rs.1,000 to Rs.2,000 were to be included under

DRI direct finance plan. As far as possible coverage of the same family under IRDP for one scheme and under SC Action Plan for another was avoided.

The infrastructural requirements indicated in the village plans were compiled in Proforma III.

Proforma III

Name of the Village	Type of Infrastructural facilities	Estimated Cost	Opinion of Joint Identification Team. In what way this will improve the implementation of beneficiary oriented programmes?	Resolution of BLCC
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

Thus all the village plans were processed into the following four basic documents to provide an interface for matching with the block sectoral plan prepared at the district level:

- (a) Proforma I containing familywise statement of schemes proposed for each family;
- (b) Proforma II consisting of the same village plans presented in a schemewise and sectoral perspective;
- (c) Proforma III containing the details of infrastructure needs increase projected in the village plans;
- (d) abstract data compiled out of Proformas I and II.

The block sectoral plan prepared at the district level consisted of a sectorwise, schemewise statement, showing the number of units allotted to the particular block for each scheme. Between June 4 to 13, special BLCCs were conducted to match village plans and block sectoral plans prepared at the district level, to arrive at the final block plan for the beneficiary oriented programme.

The forum for matching of village plans and sectoral plan was a special BLCC attended by participating bankers, all block extension staff as well as a team of officers deputed by DRDA. Representatives from the lead bank and controlling officers of major participating banks were present in the BLCC. The meetings were presided over by general administrators like Sub-Collector, Jt. Collector and PD, DRDA.

Comparison of abstract data compiled out of village plans and the sectoral plan from the district level gives an idea of the gap between the two. This exercise also gives an overall understanding of the magnitude of the problem to be tackled by the matching exercise. The basis of the sectoral plan prepared at the district level and its blockwise devolution was explained to the Bank Officers as well as to the block extension staff. Then a scheme by scheme matching was done. Proforma II formed the basic working document for this. The total number of units of a scheme proposed to be taken up was compared with the allocation for that scheme in the sectoral plan. Discussion was then initiated for finalisation of the number of units for that scheme. Whenever more number of beneficiaries had been proposed in the village plans, the numbers were brought down by some intelligible and rational criteria.

Table 4 shows a sample of the results of the matching exercise for a few selected schemes in one block.

The excess beneficiaries from a scheme were either shifted to a different scheme or were rejected. Usually the shifting was for new capital intensive schemes or at least more desirable schemes. Table 5 shows a sample of the results of the shifting exercise for a few selected schemes in one block.

Table 4 SAMPLE RESULTS OF MATCHING EXERCISE FOR
ATMAKUR BLOCK

Scheme	No. as per District Sectoral Plan	No. as per Village Plan	No. in Block Plan
Sericulture	50	7	30
Crossbred calves	20	10	10
Tailoring	18	26	21
Hairdressing Saloon	--	3	3
Goat	--	6	6

Table 5 SAMPLE RESULTS OF SHIFTING EXERCISE
IN KAVALI BLOCK

Village Recommendations	Plan	No. retain- ed for the same Scheme	No. changed to other Scheme	Scheme to which Changed
Scheme	No. of Benef.	in IRDP Block Plan after mat- ching exer- cise		
Cattle	53	26	17	Knitted Wear - All
Sheep	71	57	14	Knitted Wear - 4
				Milch Cattle - 4
				Details not available - 6
Petty Trade	29	--	3	Knitted Wear - All
Cart & Bullocks	59	12	21	Graded Murrah Buffaloes - 6
				Tyre Cart & Bullocks - 10
				Cot frames making - 5

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Maximum efforts were made to accommodate all eligible beneficiaries in some suitable scheme. Rejection was done only on valid grounds. Some of the grounds considered valid were:

- (a) above poverty line;
- (b) land ownership and other eligibility criteria;
- (c) standard assumptions of infrastructure or individual criteria not satisfied and beneficiary (as reported by J.I. Team) unwilling to accept any other suitable scheme;
- (d) poverty of ideas, i.e., it was known that the scheme proposed in the Village Plan was not viable and neither the Block, DRDA or Bank could suggest a viable and feasible alternative; and
- (e) budgetary constraints (This was used extremely sparingly and when used, priority for degree of poverty, etc., was kept in mind).

Wherever the number of units proposed in the Village Plan was low in case of a desirable scheme, specific efforts were made to shift beneficiaries from other less desirable schemes as well as to identify a few more suitable persons.

After the first round of the matching, shifting and pruning exercise, Proforma I was updated and the resultant abstracts were recompiled. The results were examined with respect to the Sectoral Plan. Minor changes, as called for, were made.

The infrastructure proposals contained in Proforma III were also discussed and essential items were recommended.

Thus the draft Block Plan prepared in the special BLCC consisted of: (a) Proforma I, i.e., a statement of families to be covered; (b) Proforma II, i.e., schemewise statement for families proposed to be covered; (c) Infrastructure proposals.

After completion of special BLCCs in all blocks, the resultant data was again posted in working sheets at the District Level. The abstract data compiled was examined with respect to the District abstract of sectoral plan as well as funds availability. At this stage, only minor

changes or rectification of errors in working sheets were made. Some amount of block shifting of beneficiaries and schemes from one programme to another was done. The first Block Plans were put up to the Standing Committee and state level committee for sanction.

The final plan consisted of:

- (a) Volume I: Resource Inventory, IRDP Infrastructure, TRYSEM, District Level Sectoral Plan, Abstract of Banking and Block Plans for IRDP, PASMA and LPP.
- (b) Volume II: Scheme documents under all Sectors, approved by Standing Committee.
- (c) Volume III: 15 Block Plans (one for each Block) consisting of Village Plans and Banking Plan for all programmes, i.e., IRDP, PASMA, LPP and DRI.

RESULTS AND IMPACT OF PLANNING EXERCISE

Measuring the contribution of a planning exercise to the development process is an extremely difficult task. The concept of assessing contribution of a planning exercise means the additional level and spread of development generated by the plan, over and above, what would have taken place in the normal process of the economic and social system. What is attempted here is an impressionistic assessment of the contribution of the planning methodology adopted by the author compared with the earlier plans.

One advantage that flowed out of this methodology is that the component of the plan needing extension support was quantifiable and realistic. Quite a good number of new schemes were introduced (Knitted Wear, Tyre Cart, Lime Mortar, etc.) and allocation under desirable old schemes were increased. All this involved shifting of beneficiaries from traditional schemes. As all this shifting was done in the presence of block extension staff and J.I. team members who had interviewed the beneficiaries in the respective villages, the beneficiary response to the change could be predicted to some extent. All those cases in which schemes other than what were proposed in the Village Plan were allotted in the Block Plan would need extension

support. Such cases could be easily quantified on account of this planning methodology. In fact, targets were fixed for various extension staff on this principle.

Another advantage was the simultaneous preparation of IRDP Plan and credit plan. Actually the credit plan comes out of this planning methodology automatically, as the Block Plan is presented in three different forms, i.e., Villagewise, Schemewise and Branchwise. Such attempt was also made in 1983-84.

Table 6 shows the per family subsidy planned for and utilised over various action plans of Nellore DRDA. The important point to be remembered here is that the subsidy amount has been adjusted to 1979-80 price level based on the consumer price index recorded in Nellore District. This has been done to ensure comparability of the figures.

Table 6 PER FAMILY SUBSIDY PLANNED FOR AND UTILISED OVER VARIOUS PLANS OF NELLORE, DRDA

Plan Years	As per Plan Documents			As per Sanctions		
	Per Family Subsi- dy	Adjus- ted Per Family Subsi- dy	Percent- age of adjusted per Fa- mily Subsidy to 1st Annual Plan	Per Family Subsi- dy	Adjusted Per Fam- ily Sub- sidy	Percent- age of adjusted per Fa- mily Subsidy to 1st Annual Plan level
1980-81	550	467	100	1,080	918	100
1981-82	760	562	120	1,145	847	92
1982-83	1,091	687	147	935	589	64
1983-84	911	647	138	1,050	745	81
1984-85	1,367	875	187	1,357	865	94

It will be seen from this that the per family subsidy

planned for in 1984-85 was the highest in the last five years. Per family subsidy utilisation was also the highest excepting that in 1980-81. There was also a substantial rise in the planned per family subsidy level from the previous high, taking the year 1980-81 as the base.

One of the major reasons why the District Collector did not favour Gram Sabhas was that desirable schemes like minor irrigation could not be identified in Gram Sabha. An attempt has been made to verify the validity of this contention. The analysis given here is based on data collected for 9 blocks out of 15 in the district. Data for other blocks could not be collected due to paucity of time.

Table 7 ROLE OF GRAM SABHA IN IDENTIFICATION
OF MINOR IRRIGATION POTENTIAL

Name of Block	Total No. of Gram Sabhas Conducted	Total No. of Villages in which MI Scheme taken up	No. of Gram Sabhas in which MI Scheme proposed	Percentage to Total MI Villages	Addi- tional No. of Villages in which MI Scheme was taken up	Percent- tage to Total MI Villages
Podalkur	33	25	25	100	-	-
Kavali	24	8	8	100	-	-
Butchi	25	14	11	79	3	21
Vinjamur	44	38	37	97	1	3
Kovur	10	9	8	89	1	11
Atmakur	25	21	16	76	5	24
Venkata- chalam	33	16	11	69	5	31
Kota	37	25	23	92	2	8
Indukur- peta	26	18	8	44	10	56
Total	257	174	147	84	27	16

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It is evident from Table 7 that out of all Villages in which MI Schemes were ultimately taken up, in about 84 per cent of them the potentiality for MI Scheme was reflected in Gram Sabha. Table 8 shows the amount of contribution made by Gram Sabhas in identification of MI Schemes. The data here includes both IRDP and PASMA Plans because the identification, potentiality analysis, etc., was done for MI Schemes as such and allocation between IRDP and PASMA was done only on the basis of availability of funds. It is evident from this table that only 41 per cent of the total number of MI units were contributed by Gram Sabhas. The contribution of Gram Sabha to the beneficiaries in MI Schemes was only 19 per cent.

Table 8 CONTRIBUTION OF GRAM SABHA IN IDENTIFICATION OF MINOR IRRIGATION SCHEMES FOR IRDP AND PASMA 1984-85 IN NELLORE DRDA

Name of Block	Units			Beneficiaries		
	Total Units in Plan	No. Contributed by Gram Sabha	Percentage Contributed by Gram Sabha	Total No. Beneficiaries in Plan	No. Contributed by Gram Sabha	Percentage Contributed by Gram Sabha
Kavali	21	2	10	21	2	10
Podalkur	108	67	62	500	68	14
Butchi	180	68	38	616	74	12
Vinjamur	185	97	52	543	140	26
Kovur	147	52	35	149	54	36
Atmakur	121	36	30	596	141	24
Indukur	247	80	32	263	96	36
peta						
Venkata-chalam	54	3	6	656	12	2
Kota	124	87	70	323	107	33
	1,187	492	41	3,667	694	19

The following general conclusions can be drawn from this data:

- (a) Gram Sabhas' contribution in identification of MI Schemes is low;
- (b) Gram Sabhas' contribution to identification of group MI Schemes is particularly low;
- (c) Gram Sabhas' have fair amount of contribution in identification of single beneficiary MI Schemes;
- (d) Gram Sabhas' contribution in identifying the general potentiality of a village for MI Schemes is good and acceptable (84%); and
- (e) Special project formulation as well as a special survey of ground water potentiality of all SF and MF lands in each village are the only effective means of ensuring substantial component of MI Schemes in a Block Plan.

This substantiates the view of the Collector regarding the role of the Gram Sabha for MI Schemes. It also corroborates the author's view that both village plan preparation and sectoral plan preparation are essential for a good Block Plan. For the Sectoral Plan preparation the contribution of special project formulation is as important as the scheme document preparation. The misunderstanding with the Collector was there because unfortunately, the author's ideas about Block Plan preparation got identified with conduct of Gram Sabha.

In order to assess the perception of various field and district functionaries, certain persons at each level were interviewed based on a stratified sample. Five of the seven Village Development Officers interviewed for this purpose were of the opinion that: (a) plan done with the help of Gram Sabha is easier to implement; (b) people are more satisfied with the Gram Sabha system. However, all of them thought that Block Plan preparation involved conduct of Gram Sabha. Only one person perceived that quality of schemes had been improved. Only two of them had some understanding of the method of Village Plan preparation. One person said he did not have any idea about plan preparation at all. The VDOs

were more aware about procedural things like writing up of BOP Applications Register, Household Survey documentation, etc. This is quite understandable.

All three BDOs who were interviewed agreed that Gram Sabhas were useful. But two out of the three opined that Gram Sabha should be conducted after plan preparation and not before. That means Gram Sabha was perceived as a tool of identification of beneficiaries only and not plan preparation. One BDO reported that by means of Gram Sabha, all below poverty line families could not be covered due to non-availability of appropriate schemes. All reported that the author's method of plan preparation enabled maximum participation of all concerned in the implementation of the programme. Two out of the three BDOs reported that preparation of a large number of schemes did contribute to plan preparation.

Only two of the four selected Bank Managers could be interviewed. One person recognised the contribution of schemes and sectoral plan in block plan preparation. The other banker felt that Gram Sabhas should only be tools of planning. When Gram Sabha is used as a tool of planning, certain families for whom the schemes are changed or dropped feel alienated. Block Plan should be prepared by devolution of sectoral plan coupled with a discussion with Block Officials and Bankers. Definite criteria for selection of villages for each plan year must be developed.

Three officers were interviewed at the District Level, i.e., the Credit Planning Officer, Lead Bank Officer and Lead District Manager.

One of the officers reported that the concept of preparation of a Block Plan for all Beneficiary Oriented Programmes in an integrated manner is better. Apart from giving a better plan, this also positively influences the perception of all field functionaries to be beneficiary oriented rather than programme oriented. All the three officers recognised the role of Gram Sabha and scheme document preparation towards Block Plan preparation. However, Gram Sabha occupied the predominant place in everybody's mind. All of them felt that preparation of scheme documents did contribute to diversification of

activities taken up. One officer reported that Gram Sabhas are not conducted uniformly. Sincere and studious officers do a good job of it, otherwise Gram Sabha just becomes a forum to identify, sponsor and sanction some loan to the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries had a tendency to prefer conventional schemes only.

SUMMARY

The commonly adopted strategy by DRDAs is to distribute the physical, financial and sectoral parameters given to it by the State Government down to the Blocks and ask the Block Development Officer to prepare a plan. The Block Development Officer sits with Village Level Workers and Extension Staff and in consultation with them distributes the parameters further down to the village level. This village level data is recompiled into the Block Plan of IRDP. Attempts to improve this method are also frequently made. Wherever the State Government/Central Government are silent about certain parameters, the DRDA tries to evolve its own parameters either in consultation with Sectoral Heads of Departments or otherwise. The perceived priorities, commitments of District Collector or Project Director does have an impact on the plan. Such impact is normally by way of higher importance to a particular sector and the weaker sections, i.e., SCs and STs or by inclusion of certain specific and very viable projects for weaker sections in the plan. Some times a Roving Survey of the resource potential of each village likely to be covered in the plan is made.

The common criticism against a plan prepared mostly at the District level or at best at Block Office level is that it does not take into account the actual needs and resource position of each village. On the other hand, a plan prepared on the basis of household survey or a passively conducted Gram Sabha, is merely the arithmetic sum or the "Shopping List" of each beneficiary and lacks any direction. That means while the top heavy planning method does not take into account felt needs of beneficiaries and the reality in the village, the bottom up plan does not take advantage of the wisdom which can only occur at a macro level. The plan

based on household survey may not give emphasis to very valuable schemes like Minor Irrigation and Industry Sector Schemes and on the other hand, may give more preference to less desirable schemes.

The author during his training as Block Development Officer had addressed himself to this problem. As a Block Development Officer he conducted a large number of Gram Sabhas and tried to convince the villagers about desirable schemes. The author pursued the same problem during his term as a Sub-Collector. At this stage, the Gram Sabhas had to be conducted through other officers. In January 1984 the author was posted as Project Director, DRDA where he worked out a comprehensive strategy for Block Plan preparation and was able to implement it. The strategy is nothing new but a development of the broad guidelines given by the Government of India and Planning Commission. The strategy consisted of simultaneously: (a) Village Plan preparation; and (b) Sectoral Plan preparation.

Village Plan preparation consisted of Household Survey, Villagewise data collection, conduct of Gram Sabha and related exercises. The Village Plan prepared by this method comprised of: (a) descriptive chapter on infrastructural facilities, potentialities and constraints of the Village; (b) statement of infrastructural gaps which need to be filled for success of beneficiary oriented programmes; (c) list of eligible families arranged in priority on the basis of degree of poverty and showing family project proposed for each family; and (d) statement of candidates who require training to acquire the skills required to implement the Village Plan.

The Sectoral Plans were prepared at the District level with the help of heads of concerned departments and other subject matter specialists drawn from DRDA and Banks. Individual scheme documents for various activities under each sector were first prepared. While preparing the scheme documents the standard assumptions of infrastructure and individual criteria for each scheme were arrived at. General statistical data on each village being covered under the plan was collected from secondary sources. Based on this data and the standard assumptions of infrastructure and

individual criteria, the potentialities of the cluster of villages to sustain each scheme was arrived at. Based on this the District Potentiality and Block Potentiality for each scheme and sector was determined. This was further modified by constraints of administrative machinery, budgetary restrictions, etc. Thus the tentative District and Block Sectoral Plans were prepared. The Block Plan based on the District Sectoral Plan and that based on the Village Plans were matched in a special Block Level Consultative Committee meeting and the final Block Plan was prepared.

It is difficult to measure the impact of such a planning exercise. However, available data shows that a higher level of per family subsidy input was achieved by this method. The contention that schemes like minor irrigation are not adequately identified in Gram Sabhas was found to be correct. The methodology advocated by the author provides for special project formulation as a part of the sectoral plan preparation. Difficult schemes needing high level of investigation support can be formulated with the help of special project formulation. Opinions of various field functionaries, officers at the Village, Block and District level, show that the Gram Sabhas were generally well accepted. Contribution of the Sectoral Plan preparation process to the ultimate Block Plan was not adequately perceived by the Village, Block and Branch level officers. At the District level, however, there was some awareness about the value of Sectoral Plan preparation for the creation of more effective Block Plans.

Brick Kiln in Jhanjharpur Block in Madhubani District, Bihar

A.K. SINGH

Objective

The purpose of this case study is to show the economic viability of a brick manufacturing unit to be set up by IRDP beneficiaries and its potential to bring them above the poverty line. An attempt has been made here to outline the various stages in the establishment of a brick kiln unit, to identify the bottlenecks in the production of bricks by the target group and to suggest suitable steps so that these irritants are removed and the scheme is implemented effectively. Factors which helped or hindered the successful operation of this scheme have been spelt out so that they are borne in mind while going ahead with this scheme in future.

Methodology

This study is based upon the collection of data both through primary and secondary sources. Examination of concerned files, letters and documents as also interviews with the Block Agriculture Officer, Block Development Officer, Subdivisional Officer, District Development Officer, Managing Director of the DRDA and Bank officials form part of the methodological aspect of this study. Discussions were held with the Secretary and the office bearers of the cooperative society as well as with some of the beneficiaries. Information was also procured from the private brick manufacturers for a

better understanding of the operational difficulties. Their suggestions have also been considered.

Background of Brick Manufacturing Under IRDP

In 1983-84 Madhubani district experienced an unprecedented demand for chimney bricks. Apart from the bricks required for the ongoing projects of the Development Departments like PWD (Roads), PWD (Buildings), REO, Education and Urban Development Departments, there was a huge demand of bricks for the construction of the Western Kosi canal. Then came schemes worth over four crore of rupees to be executed under NREP and RLEGP. They also needed bricks. All this coupled with the ever existing demand of bricks for private house construction created an abnormal situation. It appeared as if quality bricks have become a very scarce commodity.

In such a situation the brick manufacturers adopted devious ways to make money. On the one hand, they reduced the size of the brick from the traditional 10"x 5"x 3" to 8.75" x 4.5"x2.60" and on the other hand jacked up its price from Rs. 380 to Rs. 425 per thousand bricks. Besides, they would mix fifteen per cent to twenty per cent second class bricks in the stacks supposed to be of first class bricks. Such problems arose in other districts of the state also.

To tackle this situation, the Bihar Government issued an ordinance whereby brick was declared to be an essential commodity under the provisions of the Essential Commodities Act. All the District Collectors were asked to fix the size and the price of the bricks in consultation with the brick manufacturers of the area.

But the powerful brick manufacturing lobby would not give in so easily. They went on strike throughout the state in protest against the ordinance. The work of brick manufacturing came to a grinding halt.

There were certain blocks in Madhubani district like Madhwapur, Laukahi, Bisfi and Ghoghardiha where no brick manufacturing was done even during normal times. There

was no brick chimney in these places. Thus, bricks had to be brought from other areas. This led to cost escalation and delayed execution of the schemes. However, the strike created a more serious situation. It threatened to throw all the development schemes in jeopardy.

There was yet another dimension of this problem. The poor brick layers of Madhubani were being mercilessly exploited by the brick kiln owners who had themselves become quite prosperous. Normally they were paid at rates varying from Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 per thousand bricks. But in 1984, with the Punjab crisis at its peak, a large number of labourers who traditionally went to Punjab and Haryana remained within the district.

The result was that labour was available in abundance. The farm sector and the employment oriented schemes of the Government, i.e., NREP and RLEGP were not in a position to absorb them all for a long period.

This led to a further decline in the rate of payment to the brick layers. They now began to be paid at the rate of Rs.15 per thousand bricks. Even this amount was not paid to them in full. The kiln owner would keep a part of their wages to be paid at the end of the working season. This made their life more difficult.

It was in such a backdrop that brick manufacturing was sought to be introduced as an IRDP venture. It was felt that the trump card of the kiln owners was their capital. If somehow capital could be provided to the labourers engaged in the work of brick making, they could have their own kiln and work for their economic betterment.

The basic idea was to form a cooperative of the labourers engaged in the work of brick making and provide them loans from the financial institutions. As a group, they would be entitled to fifty per cent subsidy from the DRDA.

Since the labourers had the necessary skill, the provision of loan and subsidy would enable them to run their own brick kiln. The resultant profits which

otherwise went to the capitalist would then be shared by them. A cost benefit analysis of the whole scheme showed that the total profits accruing from this venture would enable the members of the cooperative to cross the poverty line.

To satisfy the financial institutions, a formal Project Report had to be prepared. This task was entrusted to Shri B. Jha, the Managing Director of DRDA, Madhubani. He consulted some of the persons engaged in this work and prepared a Project Report for a brick kiln having the capacity to produce five lakh bricks in one round. It was supposed to be run by a cooperative of fifty brick layers and masons.

The Project Report envisaged an initial investment of Rs. 1,09,000 in the first round. The details of the anticipated expenditure on different items is given below:

	Rs.
1. Hire charge for 6 acres of land	12,000
2. Cost of chimney and other implements	12,000
3. Labour charge for laying 5 lakh bricks	12,500
4. Cost of five hand tube wells	12,500
5. Cost of ten truck loads of coal, i.e., 150 M.T.	50,000
6. Miscellaneous expenditure	10,000

Total	1,09,000

It was believed that in the second round only eight truck loads (120 M.T.) of coal would be required.

Excluding the cost of the fixed assets and making provision of Rs.10,000 for miscellaneous expenses, the total expenditure in the subsequent rounds was to be Rs.62,500 only.

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Bricks of various categories to be produced in each round and their selling rates were to be as follows:

Category	Number in Lakh	Rates per Thousand Rs.	Value Rs.
First Class	3.00	320	96,000
Second Class	1.50	260	39,000
Third Class	0.50	100	5,000
Total	5.00		1,40,000

Thus, except in the first round when there was to be a profit of Rs.31,000 only, the subsequent rounds were expected to yield a profit of Rs.77,500. If the kiln could run for at least four rounds the total gains were to be Rs.2,63,500. Making an allowance of Rs.63,500 for miscellaneous expenditure, the net income of each member of the cooperative would be Rs.4,000. This would be in addition to the amount that the members would earn as wages. They would thus be enabled to come over the poverty line of Rs. 3,500 per year.

It was assumed that a loan of Rs. 2,400 to each member of a cooperative of fifty persons, i.e., Rs. 1,20,000 would be enough to run this scheme satisfactorily.

A copy of the Project Report was sent to the Chairman of RRB, Madhubani, Zonal Manager and Regional Manager of Punjab National Bank and to the District coordinators of other Bank branches.

A meeting of all Block Development Officers, Sub-divisional Officers and Bank Branch Managers was called

at the District headquarters on August 16, 1984. The whole scheme was explained to them and their views on the subject were solicited. All of them said that the scheme was feasible. The Bank managers said that they would be able to provide loan for its implementation, provided their head office gave clearance. This, they believed, could be obtained easily.

The Block Development Officers were directed to examine the possibility of the implementation of this scheme in their respective areas. In case they found it practicable they were asked to identify the beneficiaries, form their cooperative, apply for the Bank loan and go ahead with the work of brick making.

Out of the 18 Blocks of Madhubani district this scheme was implemented in 10 Blocks. However, for an indepth study of this scheme, the one started in Jhanjharpur Block has been selected as a sample.

Steps taken for the Implementation of Jhanjharpur Scheme

Identification of Beneficiaries

Through the VLWs and Panchayat Sevaks, the Block Development Officer, Shri Vishwanath Jha made a quick survey of the brick layers and masons in his area. Given below is the number of skilled labourers and masons identified in different areas:

1. Notified Area Committee	460
2. Simra Panchayat	380
3. Chanaura Ganj Panchayat	190
4. Imad-Patti Panchayat	140
5. Sant Nagar Panchayat	105
6. Kako Panchayat	80
7. Kothia Panchayat	105
8. Raiyyam Panchayat	200
9. Hainthiwali Panchayat	30

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10. Lohna Panchayat	150
11. Naruar Panchayat	190
12. Mehanth Panchayat	140

Total	2170

The Block Development Officer was willing to run only one scheme on an experimental basis. For this he selected Mohna Musahar tola within Simra Panchayat. This was because all the brick layers and masons of this tola were Musahars. Musahars are the poorest even amongst the Scheduled Castes in Bihar. So far they had been working on the brick kiln of one Bhogendra Narain Singh of Jhanjharpur.

On September 21, 1984 the Block Development Officer went to Mohna Musahar tola and explained the whole scheme to them. At first they would not believe that this could be possible. They thought it was a daydream. They raised the question of finance, coal supply and marketing. The Block Development Officer tried to satisfy them on these points, but they were not prepared to take this risk.

When the private brick manufacturers heard about this scheme, they were alarmed. They tried to scuttle this scheme. They sent word to these labourers that if they took a bank loan, they would never be able to repay it. Consequently, their meagre possessions would be attached and they might be sent to jail. Shri Bhogendra Narain Singh threatened that if they did not join his kiln immediately, they would not be engaged there later.

The Musahars of Mohna tola didn't want to face these problems. Hence they refused to go in for this scheme. The Block Development Officer's arguments fell on deaf ears.

On September 30, 1984 the subdivisional Officer, Vyasji went to Mohna Musahar tola. He assured the poor

Musahars that the Block Development Officer and Block Agriculture Officer would be made members of their society. They would ensure uninterrupted supply of coal and purchase all the bricks manufactured by them. Even if some of the bricks were destroyed by rains, the subsidy from the DRDA would more than compensate for this loss. On the point of wages they were assured that even if Bhogendra Narain Singh didn't employ them in his kiln they would be given alternative employment in NREP/ RLEGP schemes run by the Block.

The relentless persuasion of the Subdivisional Officer bore fruit. Fiftyseven Musahars became ready to form a cooperative and to start their own brick kiln. This group consisted of eleven such persons who had worked earlier as masons, coal men, rubbish men, loaders and unloaders in a brick kiln. The rest were simple brick layers. Together they had the necessary skill to run a kiln entirely on their own.

Cooperative Formation

On October 10, 1984 a meeting of the identified beneficiaries was held to form a cooperative and elect its office bearers. It had been decided through informal consultations that the Block Development Officer would be the President of this society. The Block Agriculture Officer was proposed to be one of the members of the Executive committee. It was considered essential to put the Block Development Officer in the executive committee so that he could guard against misutilisation of the funds available. Since most of the members were illiterate persons, the Block Agriculture Officer was kept there to help them in matters of sale and purchase and to maintain an account of the income and expenditure. With the Block Development Officer and the Block Agriculture Officer in the Executive Committee, it was thought that the reliability of the society would be assured and that the financial

institutions would be ready to provide loan to such a society.

On October 10, 1984 the identified beneficiaries formed a cooperative and elected the following office bearers:

Shri Vishwanath Jha, BDO--Jhanjharpur--President.
Shri Dasai Sadai--Village Mohna--Vice President.
Shri Bihari Sadai--Village Mohna--Secretary.

Besides the above office bearers, the executive committee was to have the following five members:

Shri Rajendra Prasad Verma--Block Agriculture Officer
Shri Shivan Sadai--Village Mohna--Member
Shri Phaguni Sadai--Village Mohna--Member
Shri Saryugi Sadai--Village Mohna--Member
Shri Surendra Sadai--Village Mohna--Member

The Managing Director of DRDA, Madhubani had meanwhile prepared model bye-laws for all such cooperative societies formed in the district. It was placed for consideration in the meeting of the society on October 10, 1984. The provisions of the bye-laws were explained to the members. They adopted the model bye-laws unanimously.

The fund of the society was to be kept in a bank. The Secretary could draw an amount up to Rs.50 on his own. The signatures of Secretary and Vice President were necessary to draw an amount up to Rs.100. For drawal of amounts above Rs.100 the counter signature by BDO was made obligatory. This would guard against the misutilisation of the fund.

All expenditures by the office bearers were to be approved in the next meeting of the executive committee.

Registration of the Society

On November 22, 1984 all relevant papers were sent to the District Cooperative Office, Madhubani for registration. It was returned on December 13, 1984 with certain objections. The Block Development Officer met all those objections on the same day and returned it to the District Cooperative Officer. Even then registration could not be done on the ground that the bye-laws prepared by the society were not the same as those prepared by the Cooperative Department for this purpose. This objection was communicated nearly two months after all the relevant papers had been sent to the DCO.

To avoid delay, it was decided to get the society registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. Accordingly, on February 2, 1985 all the relevant papers were sent to the I.G. Registration, Bihar. Even then the registration could not be done quickly. The clerks in the office wanted some illegal gratification to move the papers. On February 20, 1985 the Managing Director, DRDA, Madhubani contacted the I.G. Registration and pressed for an early registration of the society. He assured that this would be done. But it could not be done during the next fifteen days. The writer of this case study, who was then posted as the District Magistrate of Madhubani talked to the Secretary, Rural Development, Shri I.C. Kumar and I.G. Registration about this. Finally, the society could be registered on March 9, 1985.

It was observed that the registration of those societies whose Secretary paid some bribe in the Secretariat was done quickly, while others had to wait for long. For instance, the registration of Madhwapur and Andharathari societies could not be done till April, 1986 although all necessary papers had been sent by March, 1985.

Location of Land for the Establishment of the Kiln

Normally six acres of land for at least three years

is required for starting a brick manufacturing unit. Of this, half an acre is needed for setting up the kiln and the balance is to be used for brick laying and storage. Sandy loam is the ideal soil for brick making. This land is generally taken on a lease basis.

The society tried to take land on lease near Mohna tola. But the Maithil Brahmins to whom this land belonged refused to give it on lease till the society agreed to appoint their men as Secretary, Accountant and Chaukidar. They also demanded more than the prevalent market price for making the land available. Whereas land for this purpose was available at rates varying from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,500 an acre, they demanded Rs. 4,500 per acre. The society could not oblige them.

Finally, the society took 4 acres of land at Suket, which was at a distance of nearly 2 Kms. from Mohna. It was situated on the Jhanjharpur Andharathari main road. The land for kiln and brick laying was taken on lease for three years at the rates of Rs. 3,300 and Rs. 2,310 respectively. Including some other costs 4 acres of land was procured for an annual payment of Rs. 10,980 only. Two acres of land was made available to the society free of cost. This was the bhind (raised bank) of a tank. The land owner Chakra Narain Mallick wanted this land to be levelled. Hence, he voluntarily offered it for earth cutting. Thus the problem of land was solved.

Availability of Finance

Finance proved to be the most tricky problem. In the meeting held on August 16, 1984 the Bank managers had assured that finance could be made available. But when the time came, they expressed their inability in doing so without clearance from their Head office and NABARD.

The Simra branch of RRB, Madhubani was closest to the place where the brick manufacturing was proposed to be

done. As such steps were first taken to get this scheme cleared by the head office of RRB, Madhubani.

At the instance of the author of this case study (who was then posted as the District magistrate of Madhubani) a special meeting of the Board of Directors of RRB, Madhubani was called on December 11, 1984 to discuss the question of brick kiln financing under IRDP. All the members of the Board of Directors agreed that loan could be given for this scheme. However, the Chairman of the RRB, Madhubani, pointed out that this could be done only after the scheme had been approved by NABARD and made eligible for refinance. He assured to refer this matter to the head office of NABARD at Bombay and to his own sponsor Bank, i.e., Central Bank of India, Bombay for clearance. Meanwhile, the branches were directed to collect loan applications and send the same to the head office after proper scrutiny and survey.

Accordingly, on December 12, 1984 loan applications of 57 members of Jhanjharpur society were sent to RRB, Simra. On December 20, 1984 the applications were sent to the head office of RRB, at Madhubani through the Link Officer of RRB. But the loan was not sanctioned in the absence of any instructions from NABARD and the head office of CBI at Bombay.

At this stage, consultations were held with the office bearers of the Central Cooperative Bank, Madhubani for the above loan. The General Manager of the Central Cooperative Bank informed that CCB got funds from the State Cooperative Bank only for advancing loans to agricultural credit societies. Thus loan could not be made available for setting up brick kilns. This could be done only with the prior permission of the Managing Director, State Cooperative Bank and the Registrar, Cooperative Societies, Bihar.

However, even this permission would not help. This was because the CCB, Madhubani had no funds. Most of its advances had been eaten up by fake cooperative

societies and there was hardly any recovery. The figures of demand and collection of CCB, Madhubani for three years are given below:

Year	Demand Rs.	Collection Rs.	Percentage
1983-84	1,95,54,000	45,66,000	23.3
1984-85	1,98,94,000	20,98,000	10.1
1985-86	2,39,66,000	10,10,000	4.2

Obviously, the Central Cooperative Bank, Madhubani was not in a position to give a loan for brick manufacturing purposes.

In January, 1985 the Zonal Manager of Punjab National Bank, Shri G. Narayanan came to Madhubani. He was requested to provide loan for this scheme. He assured to take up this matter with his head office. But nothing was heard from him till April, 1985. When the author of this case study drew his attention on April 11, 1985 through his D.O. letter No. 886 dated April 11, 1985, he was informed that the matter was "under active consideration".

Since the clearance from NABARD seemed to be the main hurdle in procuring bank finance, a reference was made by the case writer to Dy. General Manager, NABARD, Patna through his D.O. letter No. 737/R.O. dated March 29, 1985. But nothing was heard till the third week of April.

In anticipation of a bank loan, the members of the society had started the work of brick laying sometime in January, 1985. By the end of January, nearly 4 lakh bricks had been prepared. But they had not been paid their wages. There was no money to buy coal. The purchase of iron sheet for making the chimney and the procurement of other essential implements involved

considerable expenditure. Yet there seemed to be no possibility of getting money from any source.

To start with, the society had taken a loan of Rs.12,000 from one Bahadur Kamat against supply of bricks. But in view of the dismal prospects of this society, nobody was prepared to give any advance now. The credibility of the District Administration was at rock bottom. It appeared that the whole scheme would fail miserably. This was a crisis which called for an immediate answer.

II

Disappointed from the banks, the case writer turned towards the government for help. In the first week of January, he contacted Shri I.C. Kumar, Secretary, Rural Development Department, Government of Bihar and requested him to give an advance of Rs. 40 lakh to the District Administration against supply of bricks for the RLEGP projects to be executed in Madhubani district. Already, the schemes of RLEGP were not being executed properly for want of bricks.

The Secretary, Rural Development Department agreed to give an allotment of Rs. 30 lakh from the RLEGP head to the PWD (Road) Department, which in turn would pass on this amount to the District Magistrate. The basic idea was that this money would be suballotted to the BDOS who in turn will give it as an advance to the Brick Manufacturing Societies. The society would pay back the advance by supplying bricks of that value to the Block and other Government agencies. If something remained to be paid, it could be returned in cash after the sale of bricks. There was no question of payment of interest.

On January 22, 1985, Rs. 30 lakh were made available to the District Magistrate, Madhubani. Out of this Rs.8 lakh were suballotted to the Subdivisional Officer, Jhanjharpur. The Block Development Officer, Jhanjharpur

got Rs. 1,35,000 on February 8, 1985. Other similar societies in Jhanjharpur subdivision were also given advances.

With this amount, the society purchased the necessary implements and started the work of brick manufacturing towards the end of February.

The amount made available from the RLEGP fund was not enough to keep the work going. As such Rs. 2.50 lakh had to be advanced to the society from the NREP fund of the Block. This was essential because all the bricks produced in the kiln were not sold immediately. Fire in the kiln had to be kept alive with advanced purchase of coal for at least two rounds.

Supply of Coal

Coal is the most important ingredient for making bricks. Roughly, 150 to 160 M.Ts of coal is required for one round of brick production.

Steps were taken to ensure uninterrupted supply of slack coal to the society. For this, the District Administration suballotted the district quota of slack coal to the three subdivisions.

Three thousand M.Ts of slack coal was suballotted to Jhanjharpur subdivision from January, 1985 to March, 1985. From April to June, 1985, 2640 M.Ts of slack coal was made available in every month.

Subdivisional Officer, Jhanjharpur directed one of the coal dealers of Jhanjharpur to bring a portion of this suballotted coal from Giridih especially for the purpose of brick manufacturing. The authorised dealer, Kalyani Coal Depot, faced tremendous difficulties in procuring coal of good quality. This was because of the control of musclemen and mafia over the coal mines of Bihar. Through the efforts of the supply officials of Giridih this problem was sorted out to some extent and the work of brick manufacturing was kept on. On certain occasions coal of good quality had to be purchased from Darbhanga, the divisional head-

quarter of Madhubani. This became necessary to keep the fire going. However, in spite of all efforts, the quality and frequency of coal supply remained uneven and irregular. This had an adverse effect on the quality of the bricks produced.

Expenditure

The details of expenditure in the first round of the first working season is given below:

A. Non recurring cost in the first season

	Rs.
1. Land lease cost	10,980.00
2. Cost of kiln cutting & earth filling	4,610.00
3. Cost of 85,000 kutcha (unbaked) bricks used for brick lining the kiln (at the rate of Rs.22 per thousand kutcha bricks)	1,870.00
4. Cost of the carriage of 85,000 bricks from laying site to the kiln (at the rate of Rs. 12 per thousand kutcha bricks)	1,020.00
5. Amount paid to masons and labourers for fixing kutcha bricks inside the oven	2,155.00
6. Cost of 253 cft. sand used for making 85,000 kutcha bricks (at the rate of Rs.295 for 300 cft.)	248.78
7. Cost of sinking 5 tube wells including labour charge	9,581.85
8. Cost of chimney, iron sheet, hook, nail, etc.	19,050.82
9. Labour payment for making and fixing the chimney	800.00

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10. Cost of 80 wooden frames for brick laying including transportation charges	850.00
11. Cost of bamboo, rope, bucket, basket, etc.	908.00
12. Stationery, sign-board, etc.	709.00
13. Construction of working shed	1,601.00
14. Price of 100 quintals of wood for firing the oven	4,220.00
15. Kerosene Oil for firing the oven	263.00

Total	58,867.45

B. Recurring expenditure incurred in the first round of the first season (time taken-30 days)

Rs.

1. Labour payment for making 5,50,000 kutcha bricks (at the rate of Rs. 22 per thousand)	12,100.00
2. Labour payment to staff employed on monthly basis	6,000.00
3. Labour payment to 4 persons employed for running the tubewells at the rate of Rs.10 per labourer per day	1,200.00
4. Labour payment to 4 labourers employed for breaking coal and its supply to the kiln	1,200.00
5. Labour payment to 3 labourers engaged to keep the oven air tight	1,155.00
6. Payment made to female labourers for carrying 5,50,000 kutcha bricks to the kiln (at the rate of Rs. 12 per thousand kutcha bricks)	6,600.00

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7. Payment made to the female labourers for taking out burnt brick from the kiln and stacking it according to the grade (at the rate of Rs.11 for 3,000 bricks)	1,980.00
8. Cost of 1650 cft. local sand used in making brick at the rate of Rs. 295 for 300 cft. sand	1,623.00
9. Coal-180 M.T. (at the rate of Rs.570 per M.T.)	1,02,600.00
10. Miscellaneous expenses (Puja, etc.)	1,155.00

Total	1,35,613.00

Total cost in the first round	1,94,480.45

The second round was completed within 25 days. The details of expenditure in the second round of the first working season is as follows:

Rs.

1. Labour payment for 5,50,000 kutchha bricks	12,100.00
2. Labour payment to staff	6,000.00
3. Payment to 4 watermen	1,000.00
4. Payment to 4 Coalmen	1,133.00
5. Payment to kiln operators	962.50
6. Payment for carriage of bricks to the kiln (at the rate of Rs.12 per thousand)	6,600.00
7. Payment for taking out burnt bricks from the kiln and stacking it grade-wise (at the rate of Rs. 11 for each line of 3,000 bricks)	1,980.00
8. Cost of 1650 cft. local sand used in brick making (at the rate of Rs. 295 for 300 cft. sand)	1,623.00

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9. Coal--170 M.T.	96,900.00
10. Wood--22 quintals	924.00
11. Miscellaneous	233.00

Total	----- 1,29,455.50 -----
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The third round was completed within 23 days. The details of expenditure in the third round are as follows:

	Rs.
1. Payment made to brick layers	12,100.00
2. Monthly payment made to regular staff	6,000.00
3. Payment made to 4 watermen	920.00
4. Payment made to 4 coalmen	1,066.00
5. Payment to 3 kiln operators to keep the oven air-tight	1,155.00
6. Payment for brick carriage to the kiln	6,600.00
7. Payment for taking the brick out of the kiln	1,980.00
8. Cost of sand	1,675.00
9. Coal--160 M.T.	91,200.00
10. Wood--20 quintals	840.00
11. Miscellaneous	165.00

Total	----- 1,23,701.00 -----
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The total expenditure in 3 rounds of the first working season is given below:

	Rs.
1. On fixed assets (Land, Chimney, etc.)	58,867.45
2. Recurring Expenditure on	
(a) First round	1,35,613.00
(b) Second round	1,29,455.50
(c) Third round	1,23,701.00

Total expenditure	4,47,636.95

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact number of bricks of different grades produced in the different rounds. This is because brick making in one working season is a continuous process and the bricks manufactured in different rounds are not kept separately for the purpose of computation. Rather, they are all kept at one place according to their quality and grade and no account is maintained for the bricks produced in the different rounds.

Yet in consultation with the BDO, BAO and the Secretary of the society, the case writer has collected the following data about the bricks of various grades produced in each round. This data is based on an examination of the stock register and the sale register of the society.

Details of different grades of bricks produced in the 3 rounds of the first working season:

	First class	Jhawan and Second class	Third class (Broken bricks)
First round	3,60,000	1,29,400	60,600
Second round	4,00,000	1,39,300	11,000
Third round	4,21,300	1,02,000	27,000
Total	11,81,300	3,70,700	98,600

Grand Total 16,50,600

Rate of Sale of Bricks

While taking money from the Rural Development Department for the purpose of advancement to the Brick Manufacturing Societies, the District Administration had categorically pledged to ensure the supply of bricks at the fixed rate of Rs. 330 per thousand bricks. But subsequently the prices of coal and other materials shot up. As such, the special Secretary of the Rural Development Department vide his letter No. 1407 dated March 31, 1985 raised the price of brick to be purchased under RLEGP, to Rs. 410 per thousand bricks. Subsequently, vide letter No. 5762 dated May 27, 1985 issued by Secretary of the Rural Development Department, the price of brick was raised further and made equivalent to the price mentioned in the schedule of rates of PWD. It was Rs. 500 per thousand bricks. Though this rate was inclusive of carriage cost, it would be roughly around 460 to 475 at the kiln site.

Even then the Jhanjharpur brick manufacturing society supplied bricks to PWD and other Government

agencies at the fixed rate of Rs. 330 only. No doubt, it caused financial loss to the society, yet it honoured its commitments. So far as the public was concerned, first class brick was sold to them at the rates varying from 350 to 452 per thousand bricks. The sale register of the society shows a sale of 4,84,400 bricks to common people for a total sum of Rs. 1,89,633.50. On an average this works out to be at the rate of Rs.391.50 or say Rs.392 per thousand bricks. So far as the second class brick is concerned, the Jhawan (over burnt brick) and the better quality of second class bricks were sold at the rate of Rs.300 per thousand. Godia (half-burnt brick) and the second class bricks were sold at the rate of Rs.250 to Rs.260 per thousand.

The third class bricks which included broken bricks were sold at the rates varying from Rs.50 to Rs.70 per tyre cart. Each tyre cart could load nearly 500 broken bricks. Thus it can be said to have been sold at the average rate of Rs.120 per thousand.

During this period, the private manufacturers sold first class bricks at the rates varying from Rs. 350 to Rs.450 per thousand. The second class bricks were sold at the rates ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 350 per thousand. However, their gains were higher. This was because all the bricks manufactured in the cooperative societies were of the uniform size of 10" x 5" x 3". But the private traders used to mix bricks of the size of 8.75" x 4.5" x 2.60" into the stacks of standard size bricks.

Besides, the private traders used to mix second class bricks up to 20 per cent into the stacks of first class bricks. But the cooperative society did nothing of this kind.

Thus while the private traders made huge profits, the cooperative society had to remain content with smaller gains.

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Sale Figures of Bricks Manufactured by the Society

The bricks manufactured by the society were sold as follows:

A. First Class Bricks

Agency to which sold	Number	Rate Rs.	Price charged Rs.
1. PWD	3,29,400	330.00	1,08,702.00
2. Jhanjharpur Block	3,67,500	330.00	1,21,275.00
3. Common Public	4,84,400	391.48	1,89,633.50
Total	11,81,300		4,19,610.50

B. Second Class Bricks

Agency to which sold	Number	Rate Rs.	Price charged Rs.
1. Jhanjharpur Block for Harijan Hous- ing schemes	50,000	300.00	15,000.00
2. To common public	48,000	250.00	12,000.00
Total	98,000		27,000.00

Average rate 275.50

C. Third Class Bricks

Agency to which sold	Number	Rate Rs.	Price charged Rs.
1. Common public	26,000	120.00	3,120.00

Thus the total receipts from the sale proceeds of the bricks manufactured in the first working season are as follows:

	Rs.
First Class Bricks	4,19,610.50
Second Class Bricks	27,000.00
Third Class Bricks	3,120.00

Total Receipts	4,49,730.50
Total Expenditure	4,47,636.95

Balance	2,093.55

Profit and Loss Account of the First Season

It would appear from an analysis of the income and expenditure of the first working season that the society earned a marginal profit of Rs.2,093.55 only. But one must add to this figure the value of unsold bricks which could be sold during the next working season. The society had in its stock 2,72,000 second class bricks and 72,600 broken bricks.

Taking Rs.250 and Rs.120 as the minimum rate of second class and third class broken bricks respectively, the value of unsold bricks would have come to at least Rs.76,712. Besides, the society had come to acquire fixed assets and tools worth Rs.43,406.67. Even

if one allows for 20 per cent depreciation in its value the net gain through the fixed assets would come to Rs.34,725.34. Thus the real gain of the society during the first working season comes to at least Rs.1,13,530.89. Divided notionally, each of the 57 members of the society can be said to have earned a profit of at least Rs. 1991.77.

One must also consider the gain to the members of the society through the payment of wages. In the first working season, the payment made to the labourers in making the kiln, chimney, rest shed and the like stands at Rs.11,755. Subsequently, Rs.90,235 was paid to the labourers in the entire brick manufacturing process. Thus the total labour payment was to the tune of Rs. 1,01,990. Apart from the 57 members of the society, 43 other labourers were engaged for brick laying, stacking and similar other works. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact amount given to each member of the society by way of labour payment, yet one can safely say that each one of them earned at least Rs.1,020 during the working season.

On the above computation each member of the society can be said to have earned an amount of $\text{Rs.1,992} + 1,020 = \text{Rs.3,012}$ during the first working season. However, in reality, they could get nothing in hand during this period except the income through the wages.

Loss Suffered by the Society

At this point it is worthwhile to examine the losses suffered by the society for reasons beyond its control. Normally the work of brick manufacturing starts in the first week of November and goes on till the second week of June. During this period five to six rounds of bricks are taken out. There is hardly any profit in the first two rounds of the first season. Profit starts flowing from the third round and goes on till the fifth/sixth round. But in case of the

Jhanjharpur brick manufacturing unit, the profit yielding rounds were missed because of its delayed start.

The figures of expenditure in the different rounds and the approximate value of bricks produced is given on next page. These figures have been arrived at by calculating the cost of first class bricks at a rate ranging from Rs.330 to Rs.391. The sale price of second class and third class bricks has been taken at Rs.275 and Rs.120 respectively.

Round	Expenditure Rs.	Value of bricks produced Rs.	Balance Rs.
First	1,94,480.45	1,61,657.00	-32,823.45
Second	1,29,455.50	1,85,533.50	+56,078.00
Third	1,23,701.00	1,95,901.00	+72,200.00

Had the society been able to take out at least two more rounds of bricks, it would have earned an additional income of at least Rs.1,40,000. In that case each member of the society would have earned an additional income of Rs.2,456.

While preparing the Project report for brick manufacturing under IRDP, it was envisaged that each member of the society would be given a loan of Rs.2,400 from a bank. Since there is a provision of 50 per cent subsidy in all group activities, each member of the Society could have got a subsidy of Rs.1200 from the DRDA. But unfortunately, no bank finance was made available. Hence, no subsidy.

Thus each member of the society lost something around Rs. 2,456 + Rs. 1,200 = Rs. 3,656. If these losses could have been avoided every member of this society would have notionally earned at least Rs. 1,992 +

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Rs. 3,656 = Rs. 5648 as profit. This is in addition to Rs. 1,020 paid to him as wages during the three months working period. Thus his total benefit would have come to at least Rs. 6,668.

III

While the work of brick manufacturing was started with the money provided by the Rural Development Department, efforts were made to get the scheme approved by NABARD. The proceedings of the meeting of the Board of Directors of the RRB, Madhubani dated December 15, 1984 was sent to the head office of its sponsor Bank, i.e., Central Bank of India. The Central Bank of India in turn took up the matter with NABARD.

When nothing was heard till March, 1985, the case study writer referred the matter once again to the regional office of NABARD. In reply to this letter Shri Noorullah, Deputy General Manager, NABARD wrote vide his D.O. letter No.NB (Pat) Gen.-58 (i) dated April 4, 1985 that brick manufacturing is an approved item for financing under IRDP and the banks have been advised about the same vide our letter No.NB Pat-2320/Gen.-55 dated September 11, 1984.

Shri K. Gopalan, Deputy General Manager, NABARD, Bombay, responded to the reference made by Chairman, RRB, Madhubani, and sent to him a copy of the communication addressed to Deputy Chief Officer, RRB, Central Bank of India, Bombay on April 23, 1985. It read "The Bank's financing to Brick Kiln societies for gainful employment is permitted if it serves the target group. The society has to obtain "no objection certificate" from the DCC and special permission from RCS to have dealings with RRB. There was no question of permission from the Registrar, Cooperative societies in the case of Jhanjharpur society as it had been registered under the Societies Registration Act and not under the Co-operative Societies Act.

Simultaneously, steps were taken to get this scheme cleared by the Priority Sector and Lead Bank Division of Punjab National Bank. With its 14 branches, the Punjab National Bank was the biggest commercial bank operating in the district of Madhubani. Shri G. Narayanan, the Deputy General Manager of Punjab National Bank, was convinced that brick manufacturing under IRDP could be a viable proposition. He referred the matter to the head office of Punjab National Bank at New Delhi.

Ultimately, this scheme was cleared by the PS & LB division of Punjab National Bank sometime in July, 1985.

There were however, three conditions which had to be satisfied before finance could be made available. They were as follows:

- (a) Approval of the scheme by the DCC.
- (b) Inclusion of the scheme in the AAP.
- (c) Overdues position of the financing branch to be less than 35 per cent.

Incidentally, this scheme had been approved by the DCC in its meeting dated April 4, 1985 and had also been included in the AAP of Madhubani District for the year 1985. Thus the decks had been cleared for the financing of the scheme by the RRB and the PNB.

The loan applications of Jhanjharpur Brick Manufacturing Society had been sent to RRB, Simra on December 12, 1984. This loan was not sanctioned earlier on the ground that the scheme had not been approved by NABARD. When the Block Development Officer contacted the Branch Manager for loan for the second working season, he was told that this could not be possible because of the poor recovery position of the branch. The Block Development Officer and Subdivisional Officer of Jhanjharpur made all possible efforts to get the loan from RRB, Simra but in vain. It appears that the branch manager of RRB, Simra considered this to be a risky venture. As such he kept on raising objections after

objections till the loan applications were withdrawn.

On December 10, 1985 the Block Development Officer sent the loan applications to the Jhanjharpur branch of the Punjab National Bank. The loan was sanctioned on December 14, 1985, i.e., within four days of its receipt. Before the loan could be disbursed, the PNB, Jhanjharpur wanted to have a No-Dues Certificate from RRB, Simra. But the latter instead of giving No-Dues Certificate questioned the very authority of PNB, Jhanjharpur to make advances in its area of operation. The Block Development Officer, Jhanjharpur clarified that Simra Panchayat had been divided by Government into two Panchayats namely, Simra and Suket. While Simra remained with RRB, Suket had been allotted to PNB, Jhanjharpur. As such there was no question of overlapping jurisdiction. But the Branch Manager of RRB, Simra wouldn't listen. He refused to issue the No-Dues Certificate. Finding no alternative the Block Development Officer himself issued the No-Dues Certificate. But by then considerable time had been lost.

Meanwhile another problem cropped up. The private brick manufacturers had seen the successful working of the brick kiln of the society during the first working season. They had also noticed that the bricks manufactured by the society were bigger in size and better pricewise than their own bricks. If the society continued to make bricks for the second year, it would adversely affect their own earnings. As such they wanted to sabotage this scheme. They sent their men among the members of the society to convince them that if they took loan from the banks, they would never be able to repay it. Consequently, their meagre possessions would be attached and auctioned towards the recovery of the bank loan. They also played them up against the Secretary of the society.

The result was that eight members of the society wrote to the Bank that they were not prepared to take loan and that their loan applications should be treated

as withdrawn. Many more members were on the verge of doing so. It was a tough time for the Block Development Officer and the Subdivisional Officer to counter this negative propaganda. But they succeeded ultimately in convincing all members that the scheme was for their benefit and there was absolutely no question of the unit running in loss. Their fears regarding the possibility of the Secretary of the society cornering all the benefits to himself were also dispelled.

Even then loan could not be advanced because the Branch Manager pleaded complete ignorance of the documentation procedure for such a scheme. He wrote to the District Coordinator of PNB and to the Regional Manager of the Bank requesting them for the deputation of SSIO to help him in this matter.

On March 8, 1985 the District Coordinator of PNB, Madhubani wrote back to the Branch manager that the deputation of SSIO was not possible. Since copy of the approved scheme had been circulated to all the Branches, he was asked to disburse the loan as per the guidelines contained therein.

On March 10, 1986 the Branch Manager claimed advanced subsidy amounting Rs.1,20,000 from the DRDA. It was made available to him without any delay.

Even then loan was not released immediately. After tremendous efforts of the Subdivisional Officer, District Development Officer and District Magistrate, the loan was advanced to the society on March 25, 1986.

The scheme approved by NABARD and the PS&LB division of Punjab National Bank provided for a loan of Rs.2,400 to every member of the society. To enable the society to get a loan of Rs.2,40,000 its membership was raised from 57 to 100. The new members of the society were all Harijans. They came from extremely poor families.

Operations During the Second Working Season

The society didn't have any money to start its operations during second working season. As stated earlier,

bank finance was not coming forth easily. Thus, for second year also, the society had to be given an advance by the Jhanjharpur Block to start its work. With this amount and the sale proceeds of unsold bricks of first season, the society made payment for the land lease and started the repairs of the chimney and the kiln.

During the preceding season, the society had suffered huge losses because of the inferior quality of coal supplied by the coal dealers of Jhanjharpur. Against the normal requirement of 150 to 160 tons of coal for one round, the society had to buy 180 tons of coal in the first round, 170 tons in the second round and 160 tons in the third round. This involved an extra use of nearly 45 M.Ts of coal. This had put the society to a loss of at least Rs. 25,650.

Wiser from experience, society decided to use coal being sold by Tata Washery during this season. It was slightly costlier but it was likely to be used in lesser quantity. Ultimately, it would work out to be cheaper.

Meanwhile, the rate of sand had gone up from Rs.295 to Rs.300 for every 300 cft.

The rate of payment to brick layers was raised from Rs. 22 to Rs. 25 per thousand bricks. The rate of taking out the burnt bricks from the kiln was raised from Rs. 11 to Rs. 12 for 3000 bricks.

During the first working season, the society didn't have to pay mining cess. But during the second season, the District Mining Officer insisted on the payment of mining royalty at the rate of Rs.12.50 per 1000 kutcha bricks. While he was quite liberal with the private brick manufacturers, he threatened to take legal action against the society if mining royalty was not paid at the prescribed rates. Unlike the private brick manufacturers, the society was not in a position to fabricate figures about the number of kutcha bricks prepared. It could not also maintain two books of accounts--one for their own use and another for the officials. Consequently, it paid the royalty at the above rate.

Even before kutchra bricks could be put inside kiln, a sudden and untimely rain destroyed nearly 1,25,000 kutchra bricks, putting the society to a loss of Rs. 3125.

When a bank loan was made available towards the end of March, 1986 the society purchased wood, coal and other essential items and fired the kiln.

Expenditure During the Second Working Season

The approximate expenditure borne by the society during the first and the second rounds of the second working season are given below:

A. Non-recurring expenditure during the first round

	Rs.
1. Payment for land lease	10,980.00
2. Iron sheet for chimney repair	6,200.00
3. Labour payment for chimney repair	300.00
4. Cleaning and repair of kiln	1,265.00
5. Arrears payment to Chowkidar from June 1985 to February 1986	2,700.00
6. Kerosene oil for firing the kiln	278.00

Total	21,723.00

B. Recurring expenditure during the first and the second round.

Item	First round Rs.	Second round Rs.
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(1)	(2)	(3)
-----	-----	-----
1. Payment to brick layers for 5.5 lakh bricks	13,750	13,750

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(1)	(2)	(3)
2. Cost of 1.25 lakh bricks destroyed in rains	3,125	--
3. Payment to staff employed on monthly basis	6,000	6,000
4. Payment to four water men	1,200	1,200
5. Payment to four coal men	1,200	1,200
6. Payment to three kiln operators	1,275	1,275
7. Carriage of 5.50 lakh kutcha bricks to kiln site	6,600	6,600
8. Taking out 5.50 lakh bricks from the kiln	2,160	2,160
9. Sand used in brick making	1,650	1,650
10. Coal	93,000	90,000
11. Wood	(155 M.Ts)	(150 M.Ts)
12. Mining royalty	4,875	1,200
13. Miscellaneous, puja, etc.	6,875	6,875
	1,500	85
Total	1,43,210	1,31,995

Thus the approximate total expenditure during the first round is Rs.21,723 + Rs.1,43,210 = Rs.1,64,933. In the second round the society bore an expenditure of Rs.1,31,995 or say Rs.1,32,000. At the time the case study writer went to Madhubani, the third round was in progress and so a final figure of third round expenditure was not yet available. But the Block Development Officer said that the expenditure in the third round was

likely to be the same as that of the second round.

Category of the Bricks Produced

The approximate number of the bricks of various categories produced in the first and the second rounds are as follows:

Round	First Class	Second class	Third class	Broken bricks
First	4,30,000	60,000	20,000	40,000
Second	4,40,000	50,000	30,000	30,000

The bricks of the third round were still being taken out. Hence, no figures could be available.

Rate of Sale of Bricks

During this season, the sale of first class bricks started with the initial rate of Rs.412 per thousand at the kiln site. The second class, third class and broken bricks were sold at the rates of Rs. 350, Rs. 250 and Rs.125 for the same number.

Sale Proceeds

The bricks produced by the society were in great demand. All the first class bricks were sold almost immediately. Seventyfive per cent of the first class bricks of the first round were purchased by the PWD. The remaining twentyfive per cent were taken by the public. Of the second round, fifty per cent bricks were bought by Jhanjharpur Block and the remaining fifty per cent by the public. The sale of bricks was still in progress at the time the case writer went to Madhubani. The approximate value of the bricks produced in the two

rounds is given below:

Round	Value of first class bricks Rs.	Second class Rs.	Third class Rs.	Broken bricks Rs.	Total Rs.
First round	1,77,160	21,000	5,000	5,000	2,08,160
Second round	1,81,280	17,500	7,500	3,750	2,10,030

On the basis of the above figures, the details of expenditure and the approximate value of the bricks produced in the two rounds is given below:

Round	Expenditure Rs.	Income Rs.	Balance Rs.
First	1,64,933	2,08,160	43,227
Second	1,31,995	2,10,030	78,035

In the third round also the expected profit may be taken as Rs.78,000.

Profit and Loss Account

An analysis of the income and expenditure of the first two rounds shows that the society has earned an income of Rs. 43,227 in the first round and that of Rs. 78,035 in the second round. In the third round also, it is likely to earn an income of Rs. 78,000. Since the society started its operations quite late, it was not possible to take the fourth and the

fifth rounds. Even so its net gains would be around Rs. 43,227 + Rs. 78,000 x 2 = Rs.1,99,227. To this should be added the amount received as subsidy. Thus the total gains of the society would be Rs. 1,99,227 + Rs. 1,20,000 = Rs. 3,19,227.

Divided notionally among the 100 members of the society, each one of them would have gained Rs.3,192.27 or say Rs.3,200 as profit.

The first round involved a labour payment amounting to Rs.41,210. In the second round, Rs.32,685 were paid as wages. Taking Rs.32,685 as the minimum labour payment during the third round, the total amount paid as wages to the members would stand at Rs. 1,06,580. Thus, each member of the society can be said to have earned an average amount of Rs.1,065 as wages. Taken together, each member of the society can be said to have gained Rs.3,192 + 1,065 = Rs.4,257 during this working season.

Had the society been able to take two more rounds, it would have earned an additional amount of Rs.78,000 x 2 = Rs.1,56,000. In that case, each member would have gained Rs.1,560 more as profit. But this could not be possible because of the delayed firing of the kiln.

Cash Balance with the Society

If all the bricks manufactured during the first and the second working season were sold, the society should be having a cash balance of Rs.78,805.55 + Rs.3,19,227 = Rs.3,98,032.55. But the society had not been able to sell its entire stock of second and third class bricks. Even then it was likely to have a cash balance of over Rs.3 lakh.

When the case writer contacted the President, Secretary and the other office bearers of the society, they were against distributing this amount amongst the members. Instead, they wanted to keep this money for starting brick manufacturing operations during the third working season. No doubt there is provision for second asset financing under IRDP and bank loan should be

forthcoming during the next season, yet the members of the society did not want to take the chance. They would rather forgo their profits and remain content with the wages received than run after the bank managers for a loan during the next season.

Prospects for the Third Working Season

The cash balance available with the society after the repayment of bank loan would enable it to start its operations during the month of November. In that event it would be quite easy to take at least five rounds of brick firing.

If the income and expenditure figures of the previous years are any indications, the society should have an income of at least Rs.40,000 in the first round and Rs.75,000 in each of the subsequent rounds. Thus, at the end of the working season, their gains through brick sale should stand at Rs.3,40,000. If the Bank loan is made available during the third working season, to which the members of the society are fully entitled, they should get a subsidy of Rs. 1,20,000 from the DRDA. This would jack up their total gains to Rs. 3,40,000 + Rs.1,20,000 = Rs.4,60,000. Taking Rs.20,000 to be the amount payable to the bank as interest, the net gains of the society would be Rs.4,40,000. Divided equally among the members of the society, each member could be given Rs.4,400 as dividends.

Since the scheme would run for the full period of six months, each member would also receive at least Rs.1,800 as labour payment. Taken together the net earnings of each member would be about Rs.4,400 + Rs.1,800 = Rs.6,200.

Even after the distribution of these profits among the members of the society, the society would have a cash balance of over Rs. 3 lakh as working capital for the future.

In the fourth working season no subsidy would be made available from the DRDA. Even then the society is

expected to earn about Rs.3,40,000. Thus each member of the society would be able to get at least Rs.3,400 + Rs.1,800 = Rs.5,200 during one working season. This is all that is needed to raise the members above the poverty line.

Salient Features of Jhanjharpur Experiment

The beauty of the Jhanjharpur experiment was that the entire operation of brick making from brick laying to firing was done by the poor Harijans. During a small period of two years they could compete with the private brick manufacturers. Their initial fears that they would never be able to repay the bank loan were dispelled. They were filled with a new confidence.

Thanks to this experiment, the rate of brick laying shot up from Rs.15 per thousand to Rs.25 per thousand bricks. Thus, apart from the members of the society, the brick layers engaged in other manufacturing units also benefitted.

It ensured the supply of quality bricks to the public and the Government alike. It gave much needed employment to the poor Harijans. Besides, it was employment with honour for they were working for themselves.

The above analysis makes it abundantly clear that brick manufacturing under IRDP is a viable proposition. It is capable of providing an income of Rs.3,400 per working season to each of the 100 members of the IRDP group. Besides, it assures full employment to each member of the working group for a period of at least six months resulting in an additional income of Rs.1,800. Thus, everybody engaged in this activity earns something around Rs.5,200 within a period of six months only.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Generally, Rs.2 lakh is spent in the first round of the first working season. For the scheme to run successfully, good quality coal for at least two rounds has

to be stored in advance. This would involve an additional expenditure of Rs.2 lakh. Thus the total amount needed to run this business satisfactorily is Rs.4 lakh.

It has also been learnt from experience that third class bricks and broken bricks are not sold easily. The demand for this category is poor. If the broken bricks are turned into Surkhi (brick powder), it is sold easily. Mixed with lime it is used as a substitute for cement mortar. The machine required for this purpose costs something around Rs.40,000.

Thus, it is suggested that the loan limit for this scheme should be raised from the present level of Rs.2,400 to Rs.4,400 per member of the society.

Also, instead of giving loan to the individual members and making separate documents, the society should be given loan as a corporate body. This would avoid the necessity of sending separate loan applications and the consequent preparation of a plethora of documents.

Whatever loan is to be provided to the society, it must be made available latest by the month of July. This would help the society in two ways. First, the society would be able to buy coal at a cheaper rate during the rainy season when the cost of transportation is very low. Secondly, it will be in a position to start the work of brick making by the month of November and take at least five rounds putting the society in a position to earn substantial profits.

A sudden rain destroys lakhs of kutchha bricks and plays havoc with this activity. To make this scheme successful, it is essential that there is a provision for insurance of kutchha bricks against rains, floods and such other natural calamities.

The rate of mining royalty (Rs.12.50 for 1000 kutchha bricks) is quite high. The private manufacturers escape payment of full royalty by filing wrong returns. However, this is not possible with the society of IRDP beneficiaries. As such there is a strong case for

giving exemption to IRDP beneficiaries from the payment of mining royalty. In case that is not possible, it should be reduced to say, half the present rate.

Effective implementation of any scheme taken up under IRDP calls for an urgent strengthening of the administrative infrastructure at the Block level. Today, the Block Development Officer has to perform such a variety of jobs that it is virtually impossible for him to concentrate on any particular programme. At Block level, while there are supervisors for the programmes of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Education, Welfare, Co-operatives and Statistics departments, there is none to look after the priority programmes of rural development like IRDP, NREP, TRYSEM and the like. The result is that most of the schemes of IRDP are executed in an ad hoc and haphazard manner. For the success of brick making or any other scheme of IRDP, it is essential that at least two supervisors are posted at Block level to exclusively look after these priority programmes. Working under the leadership of the Block Development Officer they would be able to reduce the dysfunctionalities that impede effective implementation of our programmes for poverty alleviation.

Implementation of Integrated Rural Development Programme in Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu

T.R. RAMASWAMY

Integrated Rural Development Programme which was introduced by the Government of India in 1979 is a major antipoverty programme. It aims at improving the overall quality of the life of the rural poor in the country, covering social, economic and cultural aspects through planning for integrated development. The programme involves integration of various aspects, viz., integration between areas, integration between the sectors like agriculture, off-farm activities, rural industries with forward and backward linkages, economic and social development, development of human resources by dovetailing appropriate education and training programmes, integration of income-generating schemes with minimum needs programme, integration of credit and technical services, etc.

The Community Development Block has been accepted as a unit for planning and implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. The District Rural Development Agency at the district level renders required assistance and monitors the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. The responsibilities of the Block Development Agency in the implementation of the programme are tremendous. The field level functionaries have got the responsibility of identifying the genuine beneficiaries and assisting them with durable assets generating substantial incremental income, to enable the persons below the poverty line to cross it by taking up self-employment ventures which provide returns within a reasonable time.

Thanjavur District is one of the biggest districts in Tamil Nadu. It consists of 34 Community Development Blocks. The population of the district is 40.6 lakh as per

1981 Census out of which the rural population constitutes 31.2 lakh. Nearly 63.84 per cent of the rural population is living below the poverty line. Prior to October 2, 1980, Small Farmers Development Agency was looking after the problems of small farmers and marginal farmers in Thanjavur District. From October 2, 1980, Integrated Rural Development Programme was introduced in this district and the District Rural Development Agency set-up was formed. After setting up of the District Rural Development Agency, it has covered during the Sixth Plan period, 1,04,683 families below the poverty line.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to review the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme in Thanjavur District, to assess the benefits accrued to the beneficiaries under the programme, to evaluate whether the programme's objectives have been achieved and to study the role of the participating beneficiaries, bankers and bureaucrats.

Coverage

Thirumandangudy, a village located between the River Coleroon and Kallanai-Poompuhar Road near Kabistalam, in Papanasam Taluk, Thanjavur District is the village chosen for the study. The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture. In this village, sugarcane, paddy and vegetables are cultivated. The population of the village was 1369 as per 1981 census. Among them 463 belonged to scheduled castes and the rest belonged to backward classes and other communities. There were 134 beneficiary families in the village and 172 loans were distributed to them under the Integrated Rural Development Programme. Five persons were out of station at the time of canvassing and the remaining 129 beneficiary families assisted under the Integrated Rural Development Programme were covered under the study. Out of the 129 beneficiary families assisted under the programme, 105 belonged to scheduled castes and 24 belonged to other communities. Among the 129, 105 belonged to agricultural labourers' category, of which 92 belonged to

scheduled caste community.

In order to study the growth in the annual income of the beneficiaries, on account of the assistance extended under the Integrated Rural Development Programme, 25 non-beneficiaries were also covered in the study. The details collected from them would serve as control data for assessing the growth in the annual income of the beneficiary families under the Integrated Rural Development Programme.

Methodology

The methodology adopted was personal interviews with beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries through suitably designed schedules. Secondary data were obtained from the block development office and the bank which financed the beneficiaries.

Identification and Selection of Beneficiaries

It was emphasised that the programme should aim at comprehensive development on family basis, instead of conferring certain benefits in an isolated and sporadic manner and therefore it was advocated to follow the cluster approach. For selecting the cluster, the existence of the programme specific infrastructure, availability of credit, the present level of development in the area, capacity to absorb the loans to the extent envisaged, concentration of scheduled castes and other weaker sections, the availability of field functionaries and their spread are to be taken into account. After the selection of the clusters, household survey has to be conducted as per the guidelines issued by the Government of India. The families whose annual income falls below Rs.3,500 are considered as eligible for assistance under the Integrated Rural Development Programme. After listing out the eligible families from out of the household survey, household plans are to be prepared at the village level. Village and block level plans are prepared thereafter. The meeting of the Gram Sabha consisting of the participating bankers, proposed beneficiaries, voluntary organisations, the extension staff and the village leaders should be held to finalise the list of selected beneficiaries. After

finalising the list in such a meeting, the list is to be published in the panchayat office and block development office for receiving claims and objections. After these formalities, the applications are forwarded to the banks for sanction of the loan.

The implementers identified Thirumendangudi village as a cluster, where there was concentration of scheduled castes and weaker sections, the availability of credit institutions and availability of Milk Producers' Society. From the secondary data collected from the block development office and the bank branch office and the interviews made with the non-beneficiaries, it was revealed that a thorough household survey of the seemingly poor families was not conducted. It was found that some of the eligible persons were not included in the household survey and some of the ineligible persons were provided with assistance under the Integrated Rural Development Programme.

It was found that out of the 129 beneficiary families canvassed, 29 beneficiary families were from ineligible category, while 100 were found to be genuine beneficiary families. All the 25 non-beneficiary families interviewed were found to be living below the poverty line. After selection of the beneficiaries, the selection list was not placed before the Gram Sabha for its approval and the Gram Sabha meetings were not convened and the list also was not published in the village. The Gram Sabha was not constituted at all. Had the Gram Sabha been constituted and the meeting of the Gram Sabha been convened and the list been published in the village, the implementers could have avoided the inclusion of ineligible persons and the exclusion of eligible persons.

The beneficiary families were not aware of the full details of the programme because of their illiteracy. Illiteracy coupled with suppression of facts and absence of dissemination of information led to certain lapses in the selection of the beneficiaries in the village.

Surprisingly, it was noticed that out of 29 ineligible beneficiary families, 18 were from scheduled castes and 11 were from other communities, while 20 were from agricultural labourers' and 9 were from marginal and small farmers'

families. While calculating the annual income of the agricultural labourers, the field functionaries faced certain difficulties. It was very difficult to be accurate in calculating the number of days on which the agricultural labourers were given employment in the farm activities and consequently, income earned out of the farm activities undergoes changes. When there was no adequate employment, the agricultural labourers normally used to get themselves engaged with available work and shared the wages. Therefore, for the category of agricultural labourers no scientific method to estimate the wages earned by the family was available. From experience, it was found that the total wages earned by the agricultural labourer varied according to the vagaries of the monsoon and the release of water from River Cauvery for irrigation in the Thanjavur Delta. All these 20 cases of agricultural labourers were to be taken as marginal cases, inasmuch as the method of calculating the income of agricultural labourers in the farm activities may not be perfect particularly when uncertainties were prevalent in the agricultural sector in Thanjavur District.

Table 1 would indicate the number of families assisted according to social status and occupational status and their income.

Data collected from the non-beneficiaries revealed that 14 were drawing annual income of less than Rs.2,500 and 10 were drawing annual income of Rs.2,000 and less. Had the implementers followed the Antyodaya approach, they would have sponsored the application of those 14 persons, before assisting those whose annual income exceeded Rs.2,500 and they would not have even sponsored those beneficiary cases whose annual income exceeded Rs.3,500. Therefore, it is obvious that the bottom up principle was not strictly followed in the selection of beneficiaries (Fig.1).

Selection of Schemes and Sanction of Loans

As per the instructions of the Government of India, a detailed household plan has to be formulated for each selected beneficiary family in the proforma prescribed for the purpose. The Rural Welfare Officer is responsible for formulating the household plan. The plan proforma provides

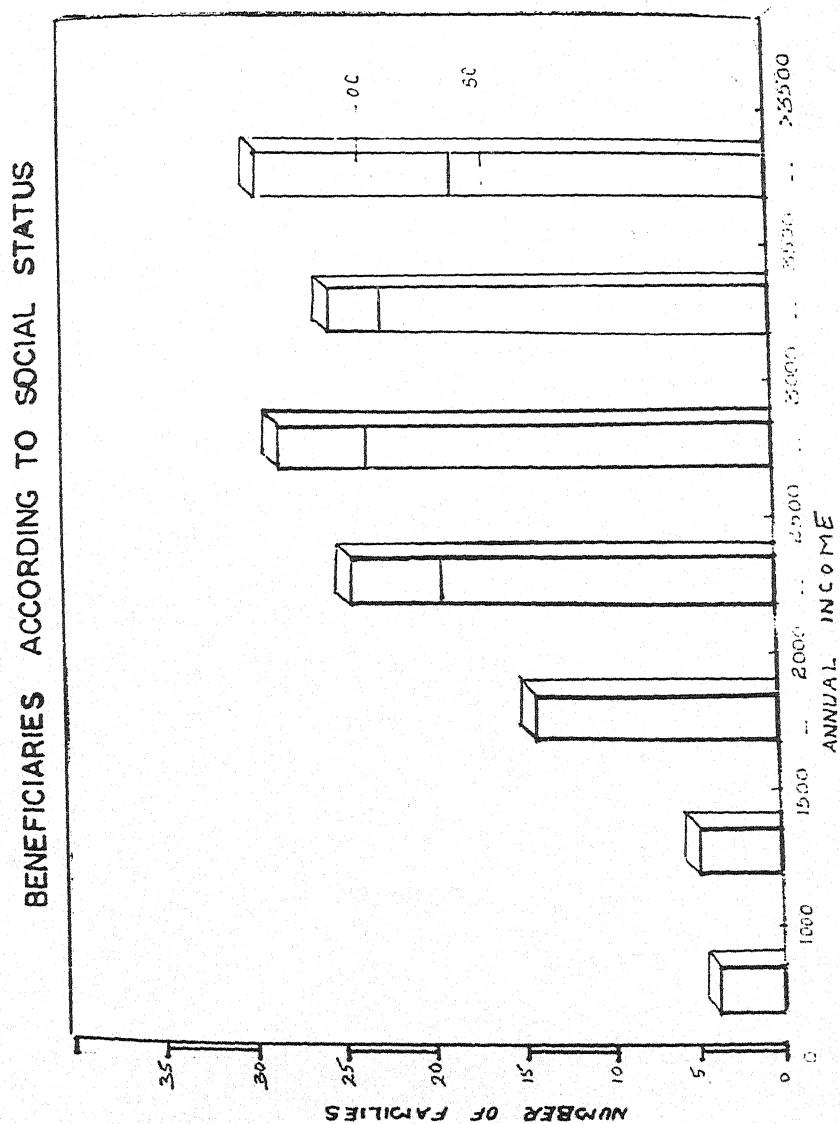
Table 1 NUMBER OF FAMILIES ASSISTED ACCORDING TO SOCIAL STATUS AND
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND THEIR INCOME

Income Range (in Rupees)	Scheduled Castes			Other Communities						Total					
	SF	MF	AL	Others	Total	SF	MF	AL	Others	Total	SF	MF	AL	Others	Total
Up to 1000	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
1001-1500	-	2	3	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	5
1501-2000	-	-	14	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	14
2001-2500	-	-	19	-	19	-	2	2	1	5	-	2	21	1	24
2501-3000	-	3	20	-	23	-	3	2	-	5	-	6	22	-	28
3001-3500	1	3	18	-	22	-	-	3	-	3	1	3	21	-	25
Above 3500	1	3	14	-	18	3	2	6	-	11	4	5	20	-	29
Total	2	11	92	-	105	3	7	13	1	24	5	18	105	1	129
SF : Small Farmers															
MF : Marginal Farmers															
AL : Agricultural Labourers															

SF : Small Farmers

MF : Marginal Farmers

AL : Agricultural Labourers



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for inclusion of such details of each of the schemes proposed to be implemented by the beneficiary such as unit cost, subsidy and loan amount to be provided, loan repayment period and the estimated additional net income from out of the assets to be created. From the interviews conducted and schedules canvassed, it was found that the extension staff and the Rural Welfare Officer did some exercise but not the one contemplated by the Government of India. The Rural Welfare Officer ascertained the willingness of the beneficiary families for a particular type of scheme, their preference for a particular scheme and recommended the same for sanction. The Branch Manager of the bank conducted a separate interview with the beneficiaries and sanctioned the loans thereafter.

The following schemes and loans were sanctioned in respect of the beneficiary families canvassed in Thirumandangudi village:

Sl. No.	Name of the scheme	No. of loans sanctioned
1.	Milch Animal	98
2.	Plough Bullocks	7
3.	Goat Rearing	18
4.	Tailoring	1
5.	Oil Engine	1
6.	Power Sprayer	1
7.	Petty Shop	3
8.	Tea Stall	1
9.	Vegetable Cultivation	35
10.	Brick Kiln	1
11.	Cycle Shop	1
Total		167

It may be seen from the above details that major emphasis was

towards the milch animal scheme followed by vegetable cultivation and goat rearing. Thrust was given only towards primary sector and not towards ISB sector. Therefore, the study would also be concentrated on the functioning of the schemes in the primary sector.

In respect of 97 beneficiary families only one loan each was sanctioned, in respect of 28 beneficiary families two loans per family were sanctioned, in respect of 3 beneficiary families three loans for each family were sanctioned and in respect of one family five loans were provided. The unit costs of vegetable cultivation and goat rearing schemes were very limited, i.e., Rs.750 and Rs.900 respectively.

It was found that the loans were sanctioned in a period ranging from 15 days to 60 days and assets were created in a period ranging from 15 days to 90 days after sanction of the loan. It was noticed that the President of the Milk Producers' Society canvassed the major number of loan applications and forwarded them to the bank through the block development office for sanction. It was found that those who approached the President of the Milk Producers' Society got the loan sanctioned early and accordingly most of the beneficiaries approached the block machinery and bank officials only through the President of the Milk Producers' Society and only very few beneficiaries approached the block machinery and the bank directly for sanction of loan and got the loan sanctioned.

Creation of the Assets

From the primary data collected from the beneficiaries and the secondary data collected from the bank branch and the block development office, it was found that 167 loans were sanctioned in respect of 129 families canvassed and 167 assets were created correspondingly. It was ascertained from the beneficiaries that in the case of nearly 10 per cent of the milch animals quality assets were not purchased. It was also expressed that the beneficiaries had incurred extra expenditure towards commission to brokers, taxi fare, etc., when the purchase committee visited the shandies during the purchase of assets.

Subsidy Investment and Utilisation

As per the guidelines of the Government of India, subsidy not exceeding Rs.3,000 may be provided per family under the Integrated Rural Development Programme. During the Sixth Plan period, Government of India provided Rs.8 lakh as per block allocation to assist 600 families including the cost of administration and provision of infrastructural facilities. For assisting 600 families, only a sum of Rs.6.40 lakh was spared, which means that the per family subsidy investment could be only at the rate of Rs.1,000. It was insisted by the Government of India that a minimum of Rs.1,000 should be invested as per family subsidy so that the beneficiary family is provided with a reasonably good asset generating substantial incremental income. It was generally accepted that any amount of subsidy investment less than Rs.1,500 would not create assets generating substantial incremental income.

Table 2 shows the amount of subsidy investment among the 129 families. It was found that 20 families received subsidy investment of Rs.300 and below, 8 between Rs.301 and Rs.1,000 and 2 received subsidy investment exceeding Rs.3,000.

In all the cases, it was ensured by the bureaucrats that assets were created, subsidy money was released in time and subsidy money was fully utilised. There was no case of non-purchase of assets after availing the subsidy. Had there been a minimum subsidy investment of Rs.1,000 as per the Government of India guidelines in all cases, there could have been higher shift in the incremental income from the lower income group.

For goat rearing and vegetable cultivation, inadequate subsidy was provided. With a meagre subsidy of Rs.300 and less under these schemes no one could expect the beneficiary families to cross the poverty line.

Condition of Assets

Table 3 would indicate the present condition of the assets. In respect of milch animals 149 were intact, while 43 were sold and 5 perished. In respect of plough bullocks 4 were sold leaving 10 intact. The vegetable cultivation was

Table 2 DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO THE SUBSIDY AVAILED

Subsidy Range (in Rs.)	Scheduled Castes			Other Communities			Total		
	SF	MF	AL	SF	MF	AL	SF	MF	AL
Up to 300	1	-	2	3	6	8	4	6	10
301-500	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
501-1000	-	1	2	-	1	3	-	2	5
1001-1500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1501-2000	-	5	64	-	-	1	-	5	65
2001-2500	1	3	23	-	-	-	1	3	23
2501-3000	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Above 3000	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Total	2	11	92	3	7	13	5	18	105
							24	1	129

SF : Small Farmers

MF : Marginal Farmers

AL : Agricultural Labourers

only a seasonal activity. After selling the assets 23 beneficiary families invested the sale proceeds in income generating activities such as acquisition of lands, obtaining land on lease, obtaining land on mortgage, etc. Only 2 invested the money in non-income generating activities.

Table 3 CONDITION OF ASSETS

Schemes	No. of assets created	Condition				
		Intact	Sold	Peri- shed	Defec tive	Others
1. Milch Animals (Nos.)	196	149	43	5*	1	1
2. Plough Bullock (Nos.)	14	10	4	-	-	-
3. Goat Rearing (Nos.)	67	54	13	-	-	-
4. Barber Shop	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Tailoring	1	1	-	-	-	-
6. Oil Engine	1	1	-	-	-	-
7. Power Sprayer	1	1	-	-	-	-
8. Petty shop	3	2	-	-	-	1 ⁺
9. Tea Stall	1	1	-	-	-	-
10. Vegetable Cultivation	35	-	-	-	-	35 [#]
11. Brick Kiln	1	-	-	-	-	1
12. Cycle Shop	1	1	-	-	-	-

* Insurance claimed for 3 cases and animals replaced.

⁺ Closed.

[#] Seasonal.

It was found from the milch animal beneficiaries that there was a steep fall in the yield of milk of the animals after they were acquired by the beneficiaries. The animals failed because of lack of adequate and nutritious feed and

neglect in the care of the animals. Nearly 60 animals were not yielding for the past nine months. There were also no grazing grounds to allow the goats to graze. Therefore the beneficiaries were resorting to selling of the goats and diverted the sale proceeds towards better uses. In respect of milch animals, out of 5 perished cases insurance claims were made and settled in respect of 3 cases. Fresh assets were procured in all the 3 claims settled.

Functioning of the Schemes

As already discussed elsewhere, thrust was given only towards primary sector consisting of milch animals, goat rearing and vegetable cultivation schemes. Milch animals were supplied to the beneficiary families after knowing that there was a milk producers' society to procure the milk and the milk producers' society was attached to the Thanjavur District Cooperative Milk Producers' Union. Initially, when the animals were distributed to the beneficiaries, the milk producers' society was collecting milk around 500 litres per day. Now the society is collecting only 10 to 15 litres per day. From the interviews conducted with the extension staff and the beneficiaries it was found that the beneficiaries were unable to supply adequate and nutritious feed to the milch animals. Supply of concentrates to the animals was not regular and continuous. The extension staff who visited the village did not seem to have taken steps to organise anti-sterility campaign and to provide adequate health care to the animals supplied under the programme. Both the beneficiaries and the extension staff did say that they took the animals to the nearby veterinary dispensary and treated the animals. If that be the fact there would not be nearly 60 sterile animals in this village. There was no lay-inseminator in the village to inseminate the animals.

The Vikas Patrikas were not distributed to the beneficiaries by the Rural Welfare Officer. Vikas Patrikas were found available only in the milk producers' society without any entry. The bank passbook which was considered to be a link between the bank and the beneficiaries for watching the repayment of the loan amount was not

distributed and entries were not made in most of the cases. Since both the passbooks and the Vikas Patrikas have not been distributed to the beneficiaries, monitoring aspects of the functioning of the scheme were neglected to a certain extent. Though the milk producers' society was in possession of an equipment to test fat content of the milk, it was not put to use. It was ascertained from the beneficiaries that the entire quantity of milk produced by their animals was taken by the society and no amount was paid to the beneficiaries till the loan amount was cleared. Though the bankers have fixed 36 monthly instalments, the beneficiaries were pressurised to remit the money even before the completion of the full period of repayment. From the primary and secondary data collected, it was found that in certain cases the entire loan amount was repaid in a period ranging from 6 months to below 3 years, mostly in respect of milch animals attached to the society. The society President acted more as a security agent to the bank than as a President of a service society. The noble objective of the programme to bring the beneficiary family above the poverty line has not been kept alive. Had some amount of the sale proceeds of the milk been retained by the beneficiaries, they would have maintained their assets well, improved their standard of living and would have shown better results.

As already discussed in respect of milch animals, though the repayment schedule has been fixed as 36 monthly instalments by the banker himself it was recovered in a shorter period thus ignoring the guidelines issued by the Reserve Bank of India.

In respect of the goat rearing scheme, sufficient grazing ground was not available to allow the goats to graze and therefore some of the beneficiaries had to dispose of the assets for better use. Goat breeders' society was not formed. When there was no grazing ground in the village, the implementers should not have suggested this scheme. In respect of vegetable cultivation, the unit cost fixed was insufficient. They should have provided for recurring and non-recurring expenditure and fixed separate repayment schedules for recurring and for non-recurring expenditures.

The period of repayment fixed as 6 monthly instalments was insufficient to clear the loan as nearly 75 per cent of the money provided was utilised for non-recurring expenditure like purchase of bamboo for erecting pandals.

The rate of interest charged by the bankers on milch animals was 10.5 per cent for the animals supplied in 1983 and in respect of vegetable cultivation it was 11.5 per cent while in respect of the ISB categories it was 15 per cent.

Repayment of Loan

As against 167 loans sanctioned, 53 loans were fully repaid; among them, 39 were repaid well ahead of the time stipulated for repayment. Nineteen were shown as defaulters by the banker. But a perusal of the secondary data collected in respect of vegetable cultivation revealed that the repayment schedule has been fixed as 6 monthly instalments which is too short a period. This needs revision. In respect of 95 cases, the period of repayment has not yet been over. The beneficiaries were regular in repayment.

Indebtedness

During the pre-project period only 7 beneficiaries were having loans outstanding with private moneylenders while 3 non-beneficiaries were having debts. But in the post project period, the number of beneficiaries having loans outstanding with private moneylenders have become 54 and the non-beneficiaries have become three-fold. From the interviews conducted with the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, it was found that loans were obtained for the purposes of celebrating marriages, provision of education, agriculture, for maintenance of the family, etc. When asked, the beneficiaries expressed that their capacity to absorb the loan from the private moneylenders has increased and they expressed confidence to clear the loans obtained from the moneylenders. When specifically enquired as to whether provision of assets under the Integrated Rural Development Programme was a debt trap, they expressed that it was a boon and not a trap.

Dietary Habits

The number of families consuming milk increased from 16 to 57 during the project period. Increased trend was seen in the consumption and periodicity of taking meat and fish. Sixtyeight beneficiaries were taking mutton at least once a month. Considerable improvements were seen in their eating habits.

Growth in Annual Income of the Beneficiaries

The growth in the annual income of the beneficiary families and non-beneficiary families is given in Table 4.

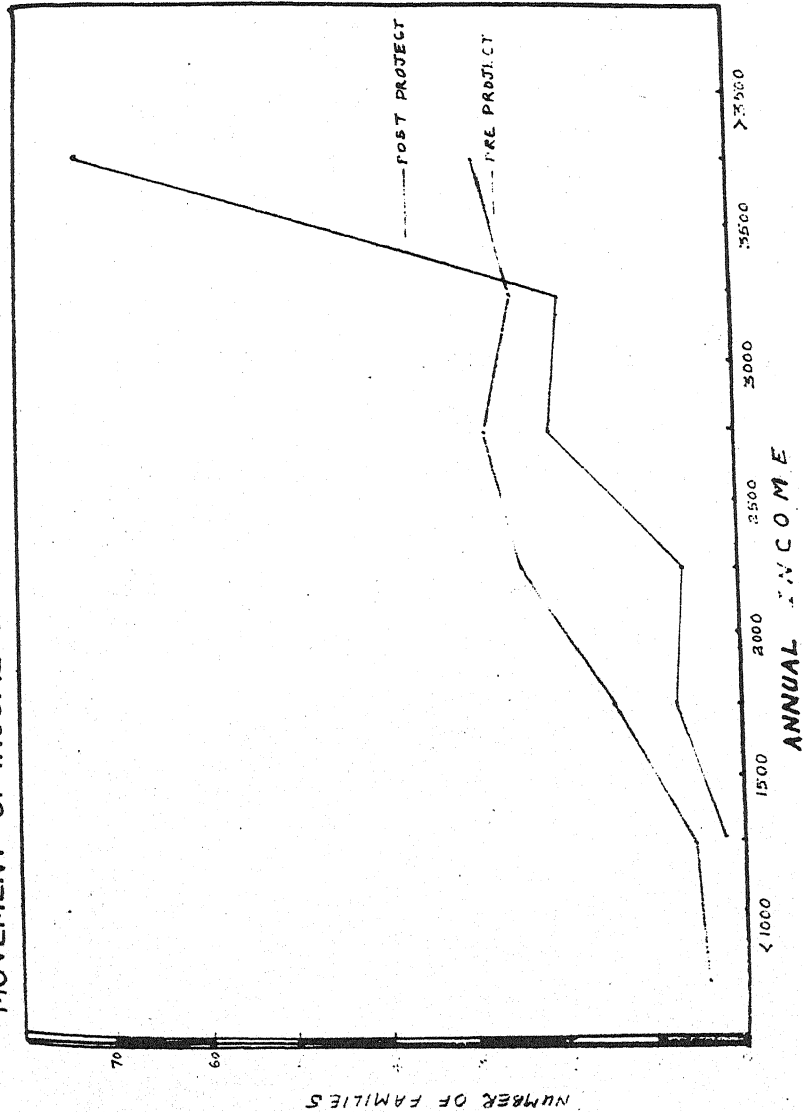
There were 4 (3.1 per cent) beneficiaries in the income range of up to Rs.1,000 prior to the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. But in the post-execution period, there was no beneficiary in the income range of up to Rs.1,000. In the case of non-beneficiaries there were 3 (12.0 per cent) families in the income range of up to Rs.1,000 during the pre-project period. But during the post-project period the number of families under this income range was decreased to 2 (8.0 per cent). The number of families who crossed the poverty line among the beneficiary families was reported to be 73 in the post project period while the number was reported to be 'nil' in respect of non-beneficiary families. The growth of income was seen visibly in all the cases assisted under the Integrated Rural Development Programme. Increased trend in the annual income of all the families was seen and each of them registered an increase from lower income range to higher income range. This was due to the fact that the beneficiaries were generating some additional income from the assets created under IRDP. Wherever the assets have failed, the beneficiaries shifted to other income generating activities. The beneficiaries did not hesitate to borrow money to improve their trade and during the period of implementation of the programme they did get employment opportunities in the farm sector also.

It is established beyond doubt that there was a clear growth in the annual income of all the beneficiary families after the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme in the village in spite of certain lapses seen in the implementation.

Table 4 GROWTH IN THE ANNUAL INCOME
OVER THE PROJECT SPAN

Annual Income Before Assis- tance (in Rs.)	Number of Beneficiary families according to their annual income after the assistance (in Rs.)														Total
	Up to 1000	1000-1500	1501-2000	2001-2500	2501-3000	3001-3500	3500-4000	4001-4500	4501-5000	5001-5500	5501-6000	6000-6500	Above 6500		
Up to 1000	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4		
1001-1500	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5		
1501-2000	-	-	3	5	2	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	14		
2001-2500	-	1	1	-	10	5	1	-	2	2	1	1	24		
2501-3000	-	-	-	-	6	7	8	1	2	-	2	2	28		
3001-3500	-	-	-	-	1	4	9	5	2	1	2	1	25		
Above 3500	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	4	1	2	15	29		
TOTAL	-	2	7	6	21	20	20	11	11	4	7	20	129		

MOVEMENT OF INCOME OF THE BENEFICIARY FAMILIES



Role of Beneficiaries

It was found that there was lack of information and awareness among the beneficiaries about the details of the programme as well as the benefits.

The study revealed that the beneficiaries did have the mind to utilise the loan amount for generating incremental income for their families. Only one per cent of the families expressed that extending the loan facility was the duty of the Government while others felt that it was an opportunity given to them to cross the poverty line. The number of spendthrifts or alcoholics using the programme funds was found to be negligible.

From the data collected, it was found that beneficiaries were not aware of the advantages of keeping the passbooks and Vikas Patrikas. Most of the beneficiaries were not aware of the details of the loan amount sanctioned, subsidy adjusted, loan amount repaid, amount payable to the bank, quantity of milk supplied, price paid for their milk, etc.

Due to lack of infrastructural facilities for rearing goats (i.e., grazing lands), a goat breeders' cooperative society, etc., in the village, this trade was not well received by the beneficiaries. Hence the need arose for them to purchase alternate assets from out of the sale proceeds of the goats.

Most of the beneficiaries expressed that to make the programme successful, they would like to follow the rules and regulations of the programme. They expressed that they would be maintaining the assets and would be prompt in repayment.

Role of the Bankers

It was found that the bankers have not furnished the proforma details as per the Reserve Bank of India guidelines, the number of applications received, sanctioned, rejected, etc., and there were also certain delays in sending the debit notes after adjusting the subsidy amount. It was noticed that there were delays in adjustment of subsidy though the subsidy money was already available with the bankers themselves, which had resulted in taxing the beneficiaries with interest burden relating to

the period of delay on the part of the banker, for which the beneficiaries were in no way responsible.

As already discussed, in spite of repeated instructions, the bankers did charge higher rates of interest for certain schemes against the guidelines of the Reserve Bank of India. It might be due to the fact that the instructions issued to the Coordinators of the banks during the meetings of the district level Standing Committee and Consultative Committee of the bankers were not passed on to the bank branch managers promptly. It led to the presumption that whatever issues were discussed in the district Standing Committee meetings, they were not communicated to the bank branch managers for implementation in an effective manner. The role of the controlling officers of the participating banks requires improvement in this regard.

The bank branch manager failed to follow the guidelines issued by the Reserve Bank of India while extending loan facilities for vegetable cultivation. The bank officials fixed repayment schedule as 6 monthly instalments. It is too short a period for the beneficiary to clear the loan amount.

Though the bankers have issued the passbooks to complete a formality, the passbooks were not made available to the beneficiaries with up-to-date entries. The beneficiaries were not in a position to say about the loan amount payable to the banks, the amount paid so far and the balance due, etc. When the beneficiaries paid the loan amount even before the completion of 36 monthly instalments, the banks should have refrained from collecting the loan amount in advance and should have advised the beneficiary families to follow the full repayment schedule. The bureaucrats and the bank branch manager did not extend further assistance to procure multiple assets for the families for whom subsidy investment of Rs.1,000 and below was made.

Adequate care was exercised by the bank in effecting recovery in advance rather than in achieving the objectives of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. The programme was considered by the banker only as a commercial proposal instead of as a programme involving social objectives.

Role of the President of the Milk Producers Society

It was the President of the Milk Producers' Society who took the programme to the village. It would not be an exaggeration to say that it was due to the role of the President of the Milk Producers' Society that the bulk of the beneficiaries in the village who belonged to the scheduled castes community were benefitted. As stated earlier, the President canvassed the loan applications in most of the cases.

However, the performance of the President of the Milk Producers' Society was not free from lapses. The President stood more as a security agent for the bank than as a president of a service society. As a result, the President pressurised the beneficiaries to clear the amount even before the completion of the full repayment period. He should have allowed the full time permitted by the Reserve Bank of India while effecting repayment of the loan amount. Since the loan amount was repaid in periods ranging from 6 months to less than 36 monthly instalments and the bankers were interested in advance recovery, the bankers were insisting on the beneficiaries to come through the President of the society and not directly. This should have been avoided both by the bankers and the president of the society.

As already discussed, the President of the Milk Producers' Society was keeping all the bank passbooks of the beneficiaries with him and he was responsible for procuring all the quantity of the milk that the animals could produce, leaving the beneficiaries without even a drop of milk either for family consumption or for the maintenance of milch animals and their calves. No money was paid to the beneficiaries from the sale proceeds of the milk till the loan amount was cleared. He did not ensure to provide concentrates regularly and continuously and artificial insemination facilities were not provided to the animals attached to the society. The beneficiaries were not informed by the President about the quantity of milk procured from them, the rate at which milk was procured, the amount payable to the beneficiaries and the amount paid in the bank towards repayment. The Vikas Patrikas were also

heaped in the corners of the society office without being distributed to the beneficiaries.

The President of the society is one of the influential persons living in the village and he has got political background. Hence, none of the beneficiaries were willing to go against the wishes of the President openly though they would like to get out of the clutches of the President of the milk society at the earliest opportunity.

Role of the Bureaucrats

The bureaucrats who selected the cluster did take into consideration the existence of infrastructural facilities, the availability of credit institutions, concentration of the scheduled castes and weaker sections in the village, etc. The selection of the cluster was done rather well. The implementers selected mostly scheduled caste beneficiaries and agricultural labourers for extending assistance under the Integrated Rural Development Programme. This was one of the noteworthy features seen in the village. But in the selection of beneficiaries and selection of schemes, there were certain lapses on the part of the bureaucrats. The Rural Welfare Officer who was supposed to conduct a thorough survey of the poor living in the village did not conduct a thorough survey. As already pointed out while discussing the identification and selection of beneficiaries, certain lapses were found in the selection of beneficiaries and in the preparation of household plans.

While sending the applications of the beneficiaries to the bank, the bureaucrats were influenced by the recommendations given by the President of the Milk Producers' Society. From the primary data collected, it was evident that most of the beneficiaries approached the bank and the block development office only through the President of the Milk Producers' Society and in most of the cases only he canvassed the applications for sanction of loans. The bureaucrats ensured the creation of assets and the utilisation of the subsidy money in all the cases without any omission. However, after procuring the assets, adequate follow-up action was not taken by the bureaucrats.

The concentrates were not made available to the animals. Periodically, the animals were not tested by the extension staff and adequate health care was not provided. Anti-sterility campaign was not organised in the village. Steps were not taken to train, through the Milk Producers' Union, at least 2 or 3 lay-inseminators so that it would be helpful to the beneficiaries to artificially inseminate their animals when the animals developed heat.

The bureaucrats failed to interfere and check the bankers and the President of the Milk Producers' Society while they effected advance recoveries from the beneficiaries. The bureaucrats failed to take up the cause of the beneficiaries when the bankers charged higher rates of interest in respect of certain schemes sanctioned by them. They should have advised the banker, the President of the Milk Producers' Society and the beneficiaries about the existence of the guidelines of NABARD and the Government of India on the repayment schedule. The ills could have been corrected had there been real relationship among the bankers, bureaucrats and the beneficiaries.

The bureaucrats were found satisfied with merely introducing the schemes in the village and achieving the targets given to them rather than achieving the objectives of the programme. The bureaucrats were not fully involved particularly in taking follow-up action. This is perhaps due to the fact that the bureaucrats' efforts were concentrated on the new cases than on the follow-up of the old cases. To a considerable extent the bureaucrats have neglected the monitoring and follow-up aspects of the programme.

SUMMARY

Out of the 129 beneficiary families selected for assistance under the Integrated Rural Development Programme in Tirumandangudy village, 105 belonged to the scheduled caste community. Also, the same number belonged to the agricultural labourer category and of these, 92 were scheduled caste families.

The implementers identified a village where there was

concentration of scheduled caste and weaker sections and availability of credit institutions and the Milk Producers' Society.

Gram Sabha was not constituted nor was the meeting of Gram Sabha convened, nor was the list of selected families placed before the Gram Sabha for approval nor was the approved list of the selected beneficiaries published in the village.

The bottom up principle was not strictly followed in the selection of beneficiaries.

The thrust was given only towards the primary sector and not towards ISB Sector.

The unit costs of the vegetable cultivation and goat rearing schemes were very limited, i.e., Rs.750 to Rs.900 respectively.

Most of the beneficiaries approached the block machinery and bank officials only through the President of the Milk Producers' Society. In respect of nearly 10 per cent of the milch animals quality assets were not purchased. The beneficiary families incurred extra expenditure towards commission to the brokers, taxi fare, etc., when the purchase committee visited the shandies during the purchase of assets.

Twenty eight families received subsidy investment of Rs.1,000 and below. An amount of subsidy less than Rs.1,000 could not create substantial assets for generating incremental income. After selling the assets 23 families invested the sale proceeds in income generating activities such as acquisition of land and obtaining land on lease and on mortgage, etc.

The passbooks were not given to the beneficiaries by the bank with up-to-date entries.

The Vikas Patrikas were not distributed to the beneficiaries by the Rural Welfare Officers immediately after the creation of the assets and they were found available only in the Milk Producers' Society without any entry.

In respect of the milch animal scheme, till the loan was cleared, the entire milk produced by the animals was procured by the society and no amount was paid to the beneficiary till the loan amount was cleared.

The President of the Milk Producers' Society acted more as a security agent of the bank than as a president of a service society.

Thirty nine loans were repaid well ahead of the time stipulated for repayment.

There were 4 beneficiaries in the income range of below Rs.1,000 prior to the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme but in the post-project period there was no beneficiary in the income range of below Rs.1,000.

Prior to the assistance, there were 29 beneficiary families having annual income of above Rs.3,500 but during the post-project period the number of families crossing the annual income of Rs.3,500 had increased to 73. Growth in the annual income was seen in all the families who received assistance under the Integrated Rural Development Programme.

Whenever the assets failed, the beneficiaries shifted their trade to other income generating activities.

Goat rearing scheme was not well received by the beneficiaries.

Bankers charged 11.5 per cent as interest for vegetable cultivation and 15 per cent for the ISB sector. For the milch animals supplied in the year 1983, the interest rate was fixed at 10.5 per cent.

Adequate follow-up action was not taken by the bureaucrats in respect of the milch animal scheme. Adequate attention was not paid by the officials in monitoring the implementation of the programme.

The President of the Milk Producers' Society was instrumental in taking the programme to the village. However, the beneficiaries were not informed by the President about the quantity of the milk procured from them, the rate at which the milk was procured, the amount payable to the beneficiaries, the amount paid in the bank towards repayment, etc.

The personal relationships of the bankers with the bureaucrats as well as the beneficiaries were cordial but for achieving the objectives of the programme the relationship structure was not that effective. Also, the bankers and bureaucrats lacked motivation and incentive.

There was lack of information and awareness among the beneficiaries about the details and benefits of the programme.

SUGGESTIONS

The rural population of Thanjavur district was 31.2 lakh as per 1981 census and on an average each block has got a rural population of nearly ninety thousand. (The norms prescribed by the Government of India is that for every sixty thousand population, a development block can be created for the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme). Sixty three per cent of the families in Thanjavur district live below the poverty line, which accounts for roughly 20 lakh of the rural population covering about 4 lakh families. To cover the 4 lakh families with sizeable subsidy amount, per block allocation of Rs.8 lakh would not be sufficient. Therefore, it is suggested that the amount of subsidy investment may be based on the percentage of rural population living below the poverty line in each block so that, over a limited period, all the families below the poverty line may be covered with subsidy and the loan amount.

It is considered ideal to cover one village after another under the Integrated Rural Development Programme in a phased manner instead of spreading the resources in too many villages covering only a few families below the poverty line in each village. In a cluster selected on completion of the household survey, all the population below poverty line should be covered before taking the next village for assistance under the Integrated Rural Development Programme. This would help to integrate various development programmes, provide infrastructural facilities fully, avoid influence, invest sizeable amount of subsidy, provide effective follow-up action, monitor the programme effectively and review and evaluate the programme well. This would help the implementers to focus all their energies to implement the programme more effectively.

The bureaucrats, the bankers and the beneficiaries can be made accountable for effective implementation of the scheme

in such circumstances, for verification of the assets and for taking follow-up action, for providing services, etc. A specific day in a fortnight may be fixed for the Extension Officers and Rural Welfare Officers for visiting the village to verify the assets, find out the condition of the assets and beneficiaries, take follow-up action, render required assistance, provide the required services and make entries in the Vikas Patrikas and monitor the programme in the village allotted to them besides verifying the bank passbooks, repayments made, etc. The Rural Welfare Officer and the Extension Officer would be able to give the Block Development Officer the feedback information to correct any errors noticed in the implementation of the programme.

All the available infrastructural facilities, availability of services and provision of education to the beneficiaries should be continued for a minimum period of three years.

The Gram Sabha should be constituted in all the villages wherever the Integrated Rural Development Programme is implemented. The Gram Sabha set-up should cover the inclusion of the representatives of all political parties in the village, village elders, the elected representatives of the village panchayat, proposed beneficiaries, participating bankers, implementers involved in the programme, Rural Welfare Officers, Extension Staff and the Block Development Officer. The Gram Sabha meeting should be conducted by the Block Development Officer in the village itself once in a month as per the instructions issued by the Government of India, the list of selected beneficiaries should be placed before the Gram Sabha and the list got approved. It is suggested that the Gram Sabha should be strengthened to the extent of not only selecting the beneficiaries but also for the selection of schemes, for conducting credit camps, recovery camps, implementing the programme in the village including helping the beneficiaries for the purchase of assets, verifying the assets, demanding the services from the Government Departments and monitoring the programme. The present system of purchasing assets (through purchase committee) may be abolished and the loan amount may be disbursed to the

beneficiary himself for purchasing the asset and the beneficiary may be asked to purchase the asset within 15 days from the date of release of the money. The asset purchased by the beneficiary should be placed before the Gram Sabha meeting convened during the month for verification. By strengthening the Gram Sabha, the participation of the local people is ensured which would help to eliminate corrupt practices, unwarranted delays and various other problems confronted at present.

The number of instalments prescribed by the Reserve Bank of India for effecting recovery of the loan amount should be strictly enforced and on no account should the bankers be able to deviate from the instructions of the Reserve Bank of India in effecting the repayment of loan. This should be monitored by the controlling officers of the bank, the Block Development Officer and the Gram Sabha.

It was found that the concentration of the implementers has been shifted from the old cases to new cases as the programme is more target oriented. Therefore, it is suggested that there may be two wings from the implementers' side--one for the creation of new assets and another for taking follow-up action on the assets already created.

The bankers must make entries in the passbooks at least once in 15 days and the passbooks must be handed over immediately to the beneficiaries after making entries. This should be monitored by the controlling officers of the bank branches and the Gram Sabha.

Dissemination of information, education of the beneficiaries about the scheme should be improved to create better awareness and interest among the beneficiaries. Demystification of instructions and simplification of the procedures would help to implement the programme better.

The bureaucrats involved in the implementation of the programme lack motivation. They did not have adequate incentive and they lack orientation. Rigorous training programmes for the bankers and bureaucrats may be organised. The contents of the training programmes should concentrate on building understanding of the objectives of the programme and how to achieve the objectives of the programme. Each one of the functionaries involved in the programme should

know how each one should work for achieving the objectives of the programme.

The field functionaries, particularly Rural Welfare Officers have been working as Rural Welfare Officers for more than 15 to 20 years without getting a promotion to a higher category. These frustrated Rural Welfare Officers were in charge of the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme at the grassroots level. They did not have any motivation or incentive for the implementation of the programme. It is suggested that certain amount of incentive may be given to the Rural Welfare Officers in charge of implementing the Integrated Rural Development Programme. They may be given an incentive of Rs.50 per month as special allowance to motivate them to implement the scheme more effectively.

The skills of the Rural Welfare Officers should be improved. In cases where the milch animals are distributed, the Rural Welfare Officers must be trained in artificially inseminating the animals; they must also have the capacity to provide services in the ISB sector. Only after acquisition of skills and knowledge would they be able to extend services to the beneficiary families. For every item of services rendered by them like artificially inseminating an animal, the Rural Welfare Officer may be permitted to collect a minimum of Rs.5 from the beneficiary family as permissible charge.

The performance of the Rural Welfare Officer and Extension Staff should be reviewed annually with reference to certain norms such as the availability of assets, condition of the assets, growth in the family income of the beneficiary, repayment made by the beneficiary, services rendered and continued, availability of infrastructural facility, etc. After review, special incentives in the form of cash awards and recognition in a public function may be extended. Similar incentives may be thought of for the field officers of the bank and the bank branch managers.

The Block Development Officers are entrusted with the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme only as a part of their normal work. Today the work load of the Block Development Officer is very heavy.

He has to be in charge of implementing nearly about 45 items of work in his block besides attending to a number of meetings in a month. He is unable to concentrate on the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme-an important antipoverty programme - to the expected level to achieve the objectives. His priorities are shifted to other ad hoc activities. Therefore, it is considered ideal to create the post of an additional Block Development Officer exclusively to look after the implementation of the antipoverty programmes. Incidentally, it may provide promotional opportunities for the subordinate staff which would serve as a motivating factor.

It is an accepted fact that investment of subsidy less than Rs.1,500 would not create a substantial asset for generating incremental income to the family. Even where the cost of the unit is less involving subsidy amount of less than Rs.1,500 the implementers must be able to provide multiple assets with subsidy investment of Rs.1,500 and above as minimum. The first dose of assistance should invariably involve a subsidy investment of Rs.1,500 and above per family.

The main occupation of the rural poor is only agriculture. The number of mandays that are generated by an agricultural labourer would work out to only 100 to 110 days per annum, generating an income between Rs.1,000 and Rs.1,200. A rural woman would get employment opportunities only for 30 to 45 days in a year generating an income between Rs.300 and Rs.450 per annum. To give additional employment opportunities for these rural poor, it is necessary that thrust should be given to the ISB sector. In order to give adequate thrust to the ISB sector, the infrastructural facilities should be developed at the district and the block levels. At the block level there are Extension Officers (Industries) promoted from out of the category of Rural Welfare Officers. However, they do not have the knowledge and technical know-how to organise industry, service and business sector units in rural areas. The question of taking technically qualified fresh recruits to fill up the posts of Extension Officers (Industries) deserves serious consideration. The services available with the District

Industries Centre and the Khadi and Village Industries Board should be made available to the Integrated Rural Development Programme beneficiary families through the Extension Officer (Industries). In other words, at the block level, for industries, services and business activities, Extension Officers (Industries) should be able to coordinate to get the necessary services from the Khadi and Village Industries Board and the District Industries Centre.

Some amount of delegation to the District Rural Development Agency is necessary from the Directorate of Industries and Commerce and from the Khadi and Village Industries Board in respect of registration of cooperative units. For the Integrated Rural Development Programme beneficiaries, the District Rural Development Agency must have the powers to register the industrial, services and business cooperative units. The District Rural Development Agency, besides administering subsidy money, must be able to serve as an agency to procure raw materials and arrange for marketing of the goods produced by the Integrated Rural Development Programme beneficiaries. For this purpose, adequate funds may be provided separately for the District Rural Development Agency.

Poultry Complex at Mylardevapally in Ranga Reddy District, Andhra Pradesh

JAYASHREE WATAL

A mammoth programme for the development of weaker sections through poultry farming was taken up in Ranga Reddy district under the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and the Scheduled Caste Action Plan in 1981-82. Four hundred and sixty one beneficiaries were selected and 15 poultry complexes were set up consisting of 25 to 35 units of 500 birds each. These complexes were spread over the 4 blocks around the city of Hyderabad. Ranga Reddy district is itself a ring district around the city of Hyderabad. This project was undertaken in collaboration with various nationalised banks which not only gave the loan component but also provided management guidance and arranged other necessary services. The other agencies involved in the project apart from the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) were the Andhra Pradesh State Scheduled Caste Corporation, the Andhra Pradesh State Meat and Poultry Development Corporation, the District Animal Husbandry Department, Private Feed Suppliers, Franchise Hatcheries, etc. Since this scheme was launched under the personal leadership of the District Collector, effective coordination was possible amongst the varied agencies. As the Collector had the full support of the ruling party and the local elected representatives, he could carry the non-officials with him even without actively associating them with the programme at any level.

This case study is about one such poultry complex, located at Mylardevapally, about 12 km. from Hyderabad city. Twentysix scheduled caste beneficiaries from Mylardevapally village and another small village nearby called Laxmigungudem were selected for the complex.

Motivation

Before selection of the beneficiaries, the details of the scheme were explained to them by the Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO), assisted by the BDO and VDO. This motivation by the officials would not have been sufficient but for the rapid and tremendous growth of poultry in and around Hyderabad. Most of the beneficiaries had not only seen this development of poultry farms but had also worked in them as labourers. This attracted them to this scheme. Of course, the fact that they were going to be provided subsidy from the DRDA and margin money from the Scheduled Caste Corporation along with the bank loan was also a strong motivating factor. An asset worth Rs. 40,000-50,000 (including the cost of land which was free) was being given to them without any minimum contribution on their part.

Selection of Beneficiaries

The selection of beneficiaries was made by the local VDO and Revenue Inspector and approved by the BDO, RDO, bankers and the DRDA. The beneficiaries were all landless agricultural labourers working as unskilled labour either on farms or for building construction, earning a meagre income of Rs.200 to 300 per month.

Implementation

During February 1982, when a decision was taken to set up such complexes, a Committee was formed with the District Collector as Chairman and the Project Director, DRDA, the Executive Officer of the District Scheduled Caste Society (an affiliate of the State Scheduled Caste Corporation), Deputy Director, Animal Husbandry and Regional Manager, Poultry Corporation as members. The Committee was to finalise all issues relating to the complexes such as shed construction, selection of strain of chicks, purchase of equipment, etc. The unit cost and economics as originally envisaged are given at Annexure 1.

The cost of the layer shed of about 1,200 square feet with A.C. sheet roofing and iron angular trusses, was estimated at Rs.18,000. At that time the cost of chicks was Rs.4.50 each and the cost of feed was Rs.1.60 per kg. The cost of 530

chicks and growers' feed was separately calculated for 22 weeks as laying of eggs would start only around 22 weeks. The cost of layers feed is slightly cheaper. The interest on investment was taken as 11 per cent on the bank loan amount. By assuming return of 240 eggs per bird per year, with the selling price of Rs.32 per 100 eggs, a revenue of Rs.38,400 was calculated over a period of one batch of 500 birds. To this was added the sale of 450 spent hens and other miscellaneous receipts. Of the total cost of the project, i.e., Rs.31,000, the subsidy from DRDA was to be Rs.3,000 and the margin money from the Scheduled Caste Corporation Rs.5,000 (later revised to Rs.5,400) leaving an amount of Rs.23,000 to be raised from the banks. In addition, an amount of Rs.95,000 was released for provision of common infrastructure at the complex such as laying of roads, provision of street lights, provision of water, etc. This amount was taken from the Special Central Assistance given for Scheduled Caste welfare from the Government of India.

The District Collector who is also the Chairman of the DRDA decided to link up the complex for feed, medicines, health care and marketing of eggs and birds to the Andhra Pradesh State Meat and Poultry Development Corporation. In addition to the health care services rendered by the Poultry Corporation, the Animal Husbandry Department also extended its technical services through trained local veterinarians. Later on, one veterinary officer and the livestock assistants were exclusively posted to the DRDA for supervision of these complexes.

Training

After selection and the supply of the chicks to the beneficiaries, they were trained under TRYSEM programme by the DRDA at the complex itself for a period of 4 months. During this period a stipend of Rs.200 per month was paid to each beneficiary. Before this, the beneficiaries were also taken to the Government Poultry Farm at Saroor Nagar which is under the management of the State Poultry Corporation for about a week. It is here that they were taught the basic principles of chick rearing.

Monitoring

The first batch of chicks were of the strain of "Rani Shaver" and were supplied to Mylardevapally complex on March 30, 1982. The District Collector closely monitored the programme right from the stage of construction of sheds. Up to a period of first 18 months, weekly review meetings were conducted personally by the District Collector who assessed the performance of the complexes and tried to solve problems of day-to-day management. These meetings were attended by the Regional Manager, Poultry Corporation, the Deputy Director, Animal Husbandry, the Project Director, DRDA and other district officials. The bankers were not involved at this stage but beneficiaries were invited and they did come in large numbers to represent their problems.

The second batch chicks (Babcock white) were supplied on April 8, 1983 and the tie-up arrangement was continued with Poultry Corporation on the same lines as of first batch. Soon after the supply of the second batch of chicks to all the complexes, including Mylardevapally, the District Collector changed. The new Collector took some time to get acquainted with the special problems of these complexes but was equally keen to make them work. Monitoring continued to be close.

Performance

The beneficiary-wise analysis of accounts on receipts and expenditure of the complex for the first and second batches has indicated significant variations in the performance of individual units. The statement of beneficiary-wise accounts shows that the total receipts from the sale of eggs, birds, manure, etc., of the first two batches at this complex was Rs.22,46,329.50. There was a net surplus of Rs.1,07,804 after deducting the total expenditure for purchase of feed, medicines, etc. A profit of Rs.1,40,235.10 was generated by 18 beneficiaries out of the 26 beneficiaries while the remaining eight beneficiaries incurred a loss of Rs.32,431.10 (see Annexure 3).

These figures exclude the non-recurring and recurring

capital expenditure made on cost of shed, equipment, and chicks. No amounts have been deducted for repayment of either principal or interest amount of bank loan or margin money. In addition, the District Scheduled Caste Society had paid a subsistence allowance of Rs. 200 per month to all the beneficiaries for the entire period. This is also not taken into account.

Profit/gain Rs.	Loss Rs.
Minimum 2,129.88	Minimum 1,289.50
Maximum 15,566.32	Maximum 8,730.89

The figures indicate that about 74 per cent of the beneficiaries generated surplus amounts while 26 per cent of them were in the red.

The study of the individual beneficiary-wise account on profit and loss statement shows that the variation in individual performance is highly significant. This variation and the losses occurred due to the following reasons:

- (a) lack of interest and self-involvement;
- (b) indiscriminate/irregular feeding and watering;
- (c) pilferage of eggs and birds;
- (d) bad management; and
- (e) irregular supply of feed and inferior quality feed.

The profit shown by the beneficiaries is also not optimum since the average net gain per individual beneficiary per batch with 500 layers was more than 50 per cent below the general commercial norm of about Rs.9,000 as profit, after taking into account all costs, for a unit of this size. This fall in performance was also due to the poor quality of feed, feed gaps, bad management, disease problems, pilferage of eggs and birds and the poor sanitary conditions of the sheds.

In view of the frequent complaints by the beneficiaries

in this and other complexes about feed gaps and the poor quality of feed supplied by the Poultry Corporation, it was decided by the District Administration to delink all the complexes from this Poultry Corporation and to hand them over, on an experimental basis, to the concerned financing bankers to exercise better management and control over the beneficiaries.

Thus, batch III of chicks of hi-sex strain, which was received on January 16, 1985, was handed over to the concerned financing bank, i.e., Syndicate Bank, Mozamjahi Market, which entered into a package deal agreement with a private hatchery called BLV Hatcheries which supplied chicks to the complex. The complex continued with this private agency for only the first 30 weeks but because of its failure to follow the agreement conditions of regular and good quality feed supply and the poor performance of their strain, the complex was again delinked and handed over back to the Poultry Corporation.

The performance of the complex for batch III, given in Annexure 3, shows substantial improvement over the past two batches. About 96 per cent beneficiaries obtained a surplus in this batch. This can be attributed to early and timely detection of the faults of the private hatchery and corrective steps being taken. Also, the beneficiaries were more experienced in poultry and more involved with the project.

ANALYSIS

Having sketched a brief outline of the scheme and the performance of Mylardevapally complex, the actual problems faced during the conception and implementation of this scheme would now be detailed.

At the outset itself it should be stated that the Poultry Complex scheme was launched in a hurry without adequate preparation or forethought. The then District Collector was in a hurry to achieve results during his tenure the duration of which, was of course, uncertain. He also wanted to launch this scheme in a big way for the exclusive benefit of the Scheduled Castes. He conceived the idea of free

grant of valuable Government land in the vicinity of Hyderabad city to set up complexes of 25-35 small poultry units of 500 birds each with a provision for common infrastructure from other grants such as Special Central Assistance, NREP, Drought Relief Funds, etc. He also provided for linkage of the Weaker Sections Housing Scheme financed by HUDCO to this scheme. Thus, although the Government lands were located some distance away from the main habitations, since houses were also provided close to the sheds, close and constant supervision required for the poultry scheme would be possible. Further, the State Meat and Poultry Corporation was also based in Hyderabad itself with a full-time Regional Manager who could devote sufficient time to these complexes. In this scheme of things, the District Administration and the beneficiaries were made fully dependent on the Poultry Corporation for supply of feed and medicines and collection and sale of eggs and birds. The Corporation was to render all accounts and remit the surplus amounts to the banks. The District Animal Husbandry Department was expected to train the beneficiaries in Poultry, provide veterinary supervision and ensure the success of the scheme. The local veterinary officer was made responsible for each complex. Thus, the division of responsibilities or tasks was not clear between the District Animal Husbandry Department and the Poultry Corporation. In the administrative set-up while the former was under the control of the Collector, the latter was not.

The selection of beneficiaries was also made in a hurry as the loans had to be sanctioned under specific names even for shed construction to begin. This was left to the local lower officials such as Village Development Officer and Revenue Inspector under the overall supervision of the Revenue Divisional Officer. Again while the Revenue Department was involved in the selection of the beneficiaries, they had no role to play in the success of the scheme as such. Most beneficiaries came forward out of sheer greed to acquire an asset worth Rs.50,000 or more without any contribution on their part. Several beneficiaries were related to each other or were too young or too old or unfit in some other way. In Mylardevapally

complex, shed No.6 was given to O.Baliah, who was 75 years old then. Shed Nos. 18, 24 and 25 belong to three brothers. Owners of shed Nos. 17 and 19 are also brothers, as are those of shed Nos. 20 and 22. Shed No.2 was given to a known drunkard and several young unmarried boys were given shed Nos. 1, 11, 12 and 17. The owner of shed No.4 subsequently sub-let his shed to another person. Those in shed No.13, 23 and 26 were 'mistries', i.e., cement layers by profession. It can be seen that these persons, with some exceptions, made losses. Those who made losses after the first two batches are owners of shed Nos.1, 2, 4, 9, 12, 13, 23 and 26.

Even after the selection, only one weeks training was given before the receipt of chicks and the balance training was on-the-job. This resulted in high chick mortality due to disease, under/over feeding, lack of sanitation, etc. Also, the beneficiaries were not clear about their ownership of the sheds as they were being paid a 'remuneration' of Rs.200 per month irrespective of production. Most were under the impression that this was a kind of wage for labour. There was no personal involvement as no immediate reward was perceived for better performance. The Poultry Corporation did not render accounts in time or remit back amounts to the bank as they claimed an overall loss for all complexes taken together.

The management of the Poultry Corporation was in the hands of a corrupt and overbearing Regional Manager (subsequently dismissed from service), who supplied very poor quality feed and that too irregularly, causing several feed gaps. During each feed gap the birds were left to starve as the beneficiaries were not capable of purchasing feed from their own meagre earnings. The beneficiaries were totally dependent on the Poultry Corporation and could only complain to the Collector. Since the Poultry Corporation was not under the administrative control of the Collector, his warnings went unheeded and it was left to the next Collector to take the drastic step of delinking the complexes from the Poultry Corporation and linking them to private feed suppliers.

The bankers complained of mounting overdues and lack of their involvement. Hence, from the middle of the second

batch, they were asked to sign agreements with private feed suppliers for supply of good quality feed regularly and for collection and sale of eggs and hens. However, in spite of all the care taken, the private feed suppliers also took advantage of the illiteracy of the beneficiaries and cheated them by supplying poor feed, wrongly accounting for eggs collected and overcharging them for the feed, besides causing several feed gaps. Responsibility for medicines, vaccinations, etc., was also not clear resulting in some loss of time and some unnecessary mortality. Again, surpluses earned by some beneficiaries were adjusted against the losses of others and no amounts were deposited in the banks.

Subsequently, when the third District Collector took charge, by which time the management of the Poultry Corporation was also in better hands, the private feed suppliers were removed and Poultry Corporation was brought in once again. By the time of the third batch, the beneficiaries were also well-trained on-the-job and realised that the sheds are their own and discovered the most responsive organisations/officers for quick remedy of their problems. The educated amongst them helped supervise the accounts. However, the 'bad eggs' amongst the beneficiaries continued to pilfer the eggs and birds and cheating by taking free feed and incurring losses in their account.

The loan burden of the beneficiaries was substantially reduced when the State Scheduled Caste Corporation decided to purchase the sheds and rent them out to the beneficiaries at a nominal rent of Rs.150 per month. The interest burden accrued was agreed to be shared equally by the bank and the Scheduled Caste Corporation. In the new economics worked out, given in Annexure 2, the beneficiary would obtain a net surplus per month large enough to take him over the poverty line. The Scheduled Caste Corporation has also retained the right to remove recalcitrant persons (as they are now only lessees) and induct fresh scheduled caste persons who are more deserving. In Annexure 2, the price of eggs has been taken at 0.40 paise per egg and each spent bird at Rs.16 per bird as these are the average rates prevailing over the

last two years.

However, it can be seen that even here if there are slippages in terms of disease outbreak or feed gaps or pilferage or even fall in egg or hen prices, the economics would again go out of gear and negative returns may accrue. Hence, even today the economics of a 500 bird Poultry unit is largely dependent on the management input. However, the beneficiaries of the Mylardevapally complex are now confident that they can make a success of the poultry programme and that they will never allow the scheme to be mismanaged and will take quick remedial action wherever necessary. They are also a more united lot, with the elders amongst them advising the younger persons and jointly representing their various problems. They have understood that their future lies in making a success of their complex and are now making plans for further expansion up to 800 or even 1,000 bird units.

Therefore, from all the wrongs done in the past by the District Administration, Poultry Corporation, private feed suppliers and by the beneficiaries themselves, lessons have been learnt by all. The vision of having the beneficiaries on their own feet, so that they can self-reliantly, independently manage their own complex will be realised very soon for the beneficiaries of the Mylardevapally complex.

Annexure 1

ESTIMATE FOR (500) LAYER POULTRY UNIT
(Originally envisaged)

	Rs.
A. Non-recurring Capital	
(a) Cost of layer shed including space for the growers	18,000
(b) Equipment, feeders, waters, etc., @ Rs.4 per bird	2,000

Total of 'A'	20,000

B. Recurring	
(a) Cost of 530 chicks @ Rs.4.50 each	2,385
(b) Cost of feed for 22 weeks @ 10 Kgs per bird @ Rs.1.60 per Kg.	8,000
(c) Miscellaneous	1,000

Total of 'B'	11,385

C. Economics	
(a) Cost of feed @ 40 Kgs/bird per year @ Rs.1.50 per Kg. for 500 birds	30,000
(b) Miscellaneous expenditure of Re.1 per bird such as vaccination, debeaking, medicines, etc.	500

Total of 'C'	30,500

170 MANAGING POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Rs.

D. Return

(a) By sale of 1,20,000 eggs @ 240 eggs per bird per year @ Rs.32 per 100 eggs	38,400
(b) By sale of 450 spent hens @ Rs.15 per hen	6,750
(c) By sale of Manure (40 layers produce one tonne hence for total 12.5 tonnes)	1,250
(d) By sale of 500 empty gunnies @ Rs.1.50 per bag	750

Total of 'D'

47,150

i.e., approximately Rs.47,000
Rs.47,000-Rs.30,500 = Rs.16,500

Subsidy and margin amount	8,000
Amount to be financed by banks (Loan portion to be recovered in 5 years)	23,000
A. Cost of unit	31,000
B. Subsidy to be given on 500 birds unit from SFDA/DPAP	3,000
C. Margin money to be given under special employment scheme from SC, BC, Corpo- rations	5,000
D. Loan portion to be made available from Banks	23,000

I. To be recovered in 5 years if subsidy is Rs.3,000

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year
(1) Principal amount (Bank loan)	-	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
(2) Interest	2,500	2,500	1,800	1,200	550
Total	2,500	8,500	7,800	7,200	6,550

Actual left over for the farm	14,000	8,000	8,700	9,300	9,950
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Principal of margin money	-	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250
Interest @ 6.5 per cent	325	325	244	168	79

Total	325	1,575	1,494	1,418	1,329
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Actual left over for the bene- ficiary	13,675	6,425	7,206	7,882	8,621
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Editors' Note

These estimates apportion to succeeding years (as in the case of 1st year) or do not take into account at all (as in the case of 2nd to 5th year) certain critical recurring costs, i.e., the cost of purchase of chicks and the cost of feeding and taking care of them for the first 22 weeks. These costs (around Rs.12,000) must be deducted in order to obtain an accurate idea of the actual net income potential of the project.

Annexure 2

ECONOMICS OF 500 BIRDS LAYER FARM
(As per the Present Prevailing Rates)

Rs.

A. Expenditure During Non-Laying Period (0-22 Weeks)

1. Cost of 550 D.O. female chicks @ Rs.6.50/chick	3,575
2. Cost of feed from 0-8 weeks @ 2 Kg./Chick @ Rs.2 per Kg. (1,100 Kgs)	2,200
3. Cost of feed from 9-22 weeks @ 8 Kg./bird @ Rs.1.70 per Kg. (4,400 Kgs)	7,480
4. Cost of medicines @ Rs.2 per bird	1,100
5. Miscellaneous expenditure @ Re.1 per bird (Electricity and other petty purchases)	550

Total	14,905
-------	--------

or say, 14,950

B. Expenditure During Laying Period (23-72 Weeks)

1. Cost of feed @ 37 Kg./bird for 500 birds @ Rs.1.70 per kg (18,500 Kg)	31,450
2. Cost of medicines @ Rs.2 per bird	1,000
3. Miscellaneous expenditure @ Re.1 per bird	500

Total	32,950
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**C. Rearing Expenditure for Replacement
as Shown in Column "A"**

14,950

Total Recurring Cost B+C

47,900

D. Receipts from One Batch

1. Sale of eggs @ 240 eggs/bird @ Rs.0.40 per egg for 1,20,000 eggs	48,000
2. Sale of spent hens (450 birds) at the end of 72 weeks @ Rs.16 per bird	7,200
3. Sale of poultry manure @ Rs.2 per bird	1,000
4. Sale of 500 empty feed gunny bags @ Rs.2.50 per bag	1,250

Total Gross Receipts	57,450
	or say, 57,400

E. Income = D-(B+C) = Rs.57,400-Rs.47,900 = 9,500

Repayment Schedule

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year	6th year
F. 1. Bank loan instalment	-	1,450	1,450	1,450	1,450	1,450
2. Interest on bank loan @ 12 per cent p.a.	-	1,030	860	680	510	340
3. Margin money instalment	-	600	600	600	600	600
4. Interest on margin money @ 6.5 per cent p.a.	-	180	150	110	70	35
Total	-	3,260	3,060	2,840	2,630	2,425

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year	6th year
G. 1. Balance left over to be- neficiary for each batch	-	6,240	6,440	6,660	6,876	7,075
2. Balance left over to be- neficiary per month	-	520	536	555	572	589
3. Instalment on shed Rent p.m.	-	150	150	150	150	150
4. Actual Sur- plus Amount available to benefi- ciary	-	370	386	405	422	439

Notes:

1. Shed cost has not been taken into account since it has been reimbursed to the banks. Therefore, only shed rent @ Rs.150 per month/unit has been deducted.
2. The margin of surplus per month per bird will be considerably higher after the loan repayment period is over.

Annexure 3

OVERALL PERFORMANCE (SINCE INCEPTION) OF S.C. POULTRY COMPLEX, MYLARDEVAPALLY

POULTRY COMPLEX 175

Shed No.	Name of the Beneficiary	Position of the Complex				Remarks
		I and II Batches				
		III Batch				
		Plus/Rs.	Minus/Rs.	Plus/Rs.	Minus/Rs.	
1	T. Shanker	-	5,212.68	5,185.17	-	1.The recurring expenditure for the three batches towards cost of chicks, feed, medicines, etc., has been taken on an average per beneficiary per batch i.e., Batch I:
2	B. Maisaiah	-	7,178.04	-	2,221.21	
3	A. Ashok	4,007.06	-	6,825.12	-	
4	Y. Narsimha	-	3,434.64	2,248.30	-	
5	G. Pentaiah	2,129.88	-	3,343.80	-	
6	O. Balaiah	12,652.85	-	8,893.88	-	
7	O. Darshan	8,138.78	-	5,252.97	-	
8	B.R. Maisaiah	10,923.06	-	3,626.37	-	
9	S. Yadaiah	-	2,586.22	5,259.84	-	
10	Y. Satnaiah	6,507.75	-	8,423.99	-	

1. The recurring expenditure for the three batches towards cost of chicks, feed, medicines, etc., has been taken on an average per beneficiary per batch i.e., Batch I:

11	G. Arjun	5,958.82	-	5,478.56	-	Rs.14,385/per unit/ batch; Batch II:
12	V. Sathyaprasad	-	1,367.01	4,677.17	-	Rs.13,500/per unit/ batch; Batch III:
13	M. Sanjeeva	-	8,730.89	3,795.13	-	Rs.13,173/per unit/ batch.
14	Y. Ramulu	5,717.11	-	7,072.31	-	
15	S. Darshan	4,339.83	-	6,014.71	-	
16	S. Pochaiah	3,061.60	-	6,605.22	-	
17	K. Babu	2,519.42	-	7,682.20	-	
18	S. Jangaiah	8,424.91	-	10,026.98	-	
19	K. Swamy	4,279.65	-	6,973.92	-	2.The shed cost @
20	D. Jeeva Rathnam	15,566.32	-	8,360.50	-	Rs.20,000 per unit
21	D. Gandaiah	8,543.12	-	10,009.27	-	has been reimbursed
22	D. Sree Ramulu	11,996.15	-	9,518.13	-	to the Bank.
23	D. Pentaiah	-	1,289.50	7,372.48	-	
24	S. Venkatesh	14,389.84	-	8,450.62	-	
25	S. Sailu	11,078.95	-	8,787.80	-	
26	Narsimha	-	2,632.12	6,446.81	-	
Total		1,40,235.10	32,431.10			

District Level Computerisation— The Karwar Experiment

SANJOY DAS GUPTA

Since last September a microprocessor is being increasingly used as an intelligent tool by the District Rural Development Society (DRDS), Karwar.

A brief understanding of the tasks of the DRDS is necessary to grasp the computer applications being made.

From 1980-81 an agency called the District Rural Development Society, headed by a Project Director, was set up in all the districts of the country to implement special poverty alleviation programmes of the Government. This agency was given the two-fold task of implementing beneficiary-oriented schemes like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and area development programmes like National Rural Employment Programme (NREP).

In an average district, this means dealing with a rural population of about 15-20 lakh. Categorisation has to be done of the rural population into small farmers, marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Each year villages have to be identified on a cluster basis and survey and identification of beneficiaries coming within the prescribed income limits has to be made. Subsequently, gradations have to be done in terms of economic livelihood. Each cluster has to be allotted to a bank. The BDOs and bankers, in consultation with the beneficiary, choose economically viable schemes. The bank credit is dispersed along with the release of subsidy from the DRDS. The purchase of the asset has to be monitored and subsequently, end utilisation including repayment of the bank loan.

Similarly, a process of infrastructural development has to be done in order to ensure that the necessary linkages are

created for the productive utilisation of the asset given.

Under area development programmes, the pockets of unemployed labour have to be located. Then labour-oriented work has to be identified and an implementing agency, e.g., Panchayat Board has to be given the task. Finally, monitoring of the payment of wages as well as the progress of work has to be undertaken.

In a state like Karnataka there are also other schemes on similar lines like Negilubhagya, Gobar Gas, Antyodaya, 100 wells, Special Component, RLEGP, REGS, which have to be implemented by the District Rural Development Society. In total terms, this meant that at the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan, for a district like Karwar, 33,000 persons under IRDP, 2,500 under Negilubhagya, 1,200 under Gobar Gas, 2,000 under Antyodaya, 1,656 under 100 Wells scheme were helped. Similarly, under NREP, 1,122 works were completed and 52,32,072 mandays generated with an expenditure of Rs.469 lakh. Excepting for 1984-85, the entire task of data management was carried out manually. For the successful implementation of such programmes, data collection and analysis of a tremendous magnitude has become necessary. This inevitably leads to computerisation.

The Genesis

One morning, September 1984, two engineers, Krishnan and Jayaram arrived with the hardware. The whole office was agog with the whisper, "the computer has arrived".

Within a fortnight the awe had been replaced by curiosity. The last to fall in line was our accounts section. As this final bastion fell, the computer assumed its place like a newly posted official. Behind this easy initiation ceremony lay a whole year of preparation, i.e., in computer terminology, system design, programme software, etc. The interesting aspect of this lay in the fact that nobody in the office including the author had a computer background. Almost all the applications were made with well known easy to comprehend computer packages like Phase-II, Multiplan, Wordstar, Inventory Control, etc. Some special programmes were prepared in BASIC. As the applications increased, the ground is being prepared for a

standard software package in PASCAL.

Data Collection

For beneficiary-oriented programmes, a unique alphanumeric code was developed to exact information on every individual beneficiary. Amongst other things this code indicated the taluka, village, bank scheme, caste and category (Diagram 1). Thus, every beneficiary under different programmes was given a code. Field level officials and rural bank branches were prescribed pro forma information which conformed to the system design. Thus, by updating each beneficiary's record, one could follow the transactions made from the beginning. For example, under IRDP the entire progress of a coded beneficiary could be monitored whether it was the selection of an asset or it was the date of dispersal or name of the bank or the quantum of subsidy involved. This information was contained in individual records of approximately 70 bytes each. The entire process of developing the system design was first done manually by utilising the existing procedures of surveys and pro forma returns.

For area development programmes, the major achievement from the point of view of district level planning has been the creation of a data bank on all the 1,324 villages in the district (Diagram 2). With such a data bank, the entire process of planning lends itself to a logical approach. For area development programmes like NREP or RLEGP the landless labour population can be easily located. Then, seeing the level of development of the village, fresh works can be proposed. Similarly, in the entire period of 5 years, the quantum of work done in an individual village whether under IRDP or NREP or any other programme can be immediately cross checked. Also, the total funds required during each year can be projected for an if...then analysis.

Data Organisation

Thus, on a floppy disk drive, individual taluka diskettes are maintained keeping the entire information of individual beneficiaries of the concerned taluka in separate records. During output, a main structure file containing the code,

names of talukas, villages and banks are referenced.

A single dump file of all transactions was created in which all daily transactions were input. They were then processed and the individual records were updated. These were then output and sent to the concerned sections of the office.

For area development programmes, a simple monitoring pro forma was created, wherein the progress indicated by different agencies was input. This held true for all area development programmes (Diagram 3).

Once a system design was ready, it was found that the already existing procedures of surveys and pro forma returns were suitable for data input. Some training classes were held for block and village level officials like BDOs and gramsevaks and rural bankers to indicate the need for data accuracy. One major but simple countercheck was to send computer output to the banks and village level officials for their own reference and comparison with data submitted previously.

CONCLUSION

While the method of data collection and the range of applications has been indicated above, the process has been beset with various difficulties. Firstly, our 8 bit microprocessor has limited processing capability. This made the data banks somewhat limited unless cross referenced by other data banks. Even then the time taken for processing information on 30,000 beneficiaries became quite tiresome. The use of standard report forms became necessary to ensure familiarity with the output, specially for an office newly introduced to the concept of computer applications.

Since funds are limited, the prices quoted by professional groups to develop the software were extremely prohibitive. Thus, we developed the software primarily by the trial and error method. This is where a strong manual system developed as a precursor to computerisation came in useful as a standby.

Secondly, when I discussed the matter with profes-

DIAGRAM 2
COMPUTER ANALYSIS OF TALUK-WISE PERFORMANCE
DURING 1984-85 IN KARWAR

Taluk	No. of Works	Works Compl.	Outlay	Expenditure	% of Expen.	Rank
Karwar	34	1	2635144.00	2050334.00	77.80	1
Kunta	28	7	1195530.00	924185.00	77.30	2
Ankola	21	2	2508123.00	1762353.00	70.26	3
Honavar	18	0	1146118.00	718878.00	62.72	4
Sirsi	41	0	2097047.00	1186816.00	56.59	5
Mundgod	32	9	1228182.00	686348.00	55.88	6
yellapur	27	4	2514232.00	1359495.00	54.07	7
Supa-Joida	19	6	968771.00	505574.00	52.18	8
Siddapur	16	0	861636.00	436002.00	50.60	9
Bhatkal	19	0	687900.00	282720.00	41.09	10
Haliyal	63	36	1029156.00	377341.00	36.66	11
District	318	65	16871839.00	10290046.00	60.98	

sionals, it was impossible to communicate to them the fact that they were dealing with rural India. Their emphasis was always on a highly sophisticated package which would have mystified the office and resulted in a setback to computerisation.

In part, the lack of external influence or interaction pushed the office into seeking practical solutions. It was by daily interaction with the computer (every staff member has free access to the computer and can use it every evening) that the initial teething was done. Ultimately, there was also the excitement of heading an expedition in an unexplored area which drove the team to determined effort.

We had selected a name for this project at the outset--BRISK (Better Rural Information System of Karwar). The best day came at the end of February 1985 when a team of officials and computer experts headed by a Joint Secretary, Government of India, verified the computer applications with actual field checks.

If the rural map of India has to be changed by the use of computers, then an open system of district level information processing has to be developed. A data bank similar to BRISK can be built up in all the districts in India and these data banks can be inter-connected and linked to planning bodies at the various levels. Access to information of this order can facilitate a major breakthrough into a more efficient and effective system of planning and administration for poverty alleviation.

Implementation of Land Reforms in Kerala

A. MOHAMMED HANEEFA

Ever since the country attained Independence, the people have been fed on the hope of radical agrarian reforms by which the actual tiller will be made the owner of the soil. In fact, for many years before Independence, the national movement had declared as one of its primary objectives the early fulfilment of the ideal of land to the tiller. However, even after 20 years since Independence the long promised goal had been evading attainment. This caused disillusionment among the people especially in areas where strong peasant organisations were working. This discontent was further accentuated with the working out of the new strategy in agriculture with its emphasis on extension of irrigation combined with new methods of scientific cultivation. This tended to make the rich farmer richer leaving the poorer sections, particularly the marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, in economically as deplorable a condition as they had ever been. The increasing population also cast its pressure on the land. Certain steps have been taken to improve the condition of tenants and agricultural labourers by fixing fair rents and by preventing their evictions from homesteads. But these attempts were only palliatives which touched barely the fringe of the problem. They have only helped to emphasise the need and urgency of structural changes in the agricultural set-up. Radical changes of the desired type in the system of land ownership were brought about only by the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1964, as amended by Act 35 of 1969.

Different Land Systems in the Three Areas of the State

The land tenure system in the three areas of the State, viz., Travancore, Cochin and Malabar differed materially from one another. In the erstwhile princely states of Travancore and Cochin the State had come directly in touch with the ryots since long, which was not the case in the Malabar area. In Malabar area, in earlier years, the Jenmi always retained part of his hereditary right while transferring his lands to tenants whereas in Travancore a Jenmi's transferee becomes a ryot liable to pay only land revenue to the State. This has resulted in differences in the land ownerships in the two areas. In Travancore, by Pandarapattom Proclamation of 1865, the ryots on government land got ownership and under the Jenmi Kudiyan Regulations of 1896, the rights of Jenmies were restricted and the Kudiyan became full owners of the land subject to payment of land revenue due to the State and Jenmikaram due to the Jenmi. The Jenmikaram itself was regulated by the amendment act of 1933. In Cochin area under the Cochin Tenancy Act, 1938, the Kanom tenants were given security of tenure. Under the Cochin Verumpattadars Act, 1943, the Verumpattom tenants were given security of tenure at a fixed rent. However, in Malabar area, where 90 per cent of the land is comprised of tenanted holdings, the tenancy reform legislation has got a chequered history.

Tenancy in Malabar

Ever since the British supremacy was established in Malabar during the early years of the 19th century, the administration worked through the feudal landlords. All lands were recognised as private property of the big Jenmies. The government itself had no land nor was it directly in touch with the ryots. The British were content with collecting the revenue due to them from the feudal landlords. The landlords gave the land on lease after realising oppressive rates of rent and also money

in advance. They also changed the tenants according to their caprice and evicted those who were not fully agreeable to their demands. The British administration helped the Jenmies to suppress any resistance against their misdeeds. The condition of Jenmi ryot relations shortly after the British rule came into existence is given by William Logan who had been Collector of Malabar during the year 1870-75, as follows: "The views described above of the joint commissioners were not the only cause contributing to the anarchy which ensued. The revenue management of the country was made over on behalf of the honourable company to the petty chiefs who, freed by the irresistible power of the British Government from such ties as previously bound them, were only too eager to seize the opportunity of bettering themselves at the expense of those who had formerly been the mainstay of their power." Writing on the chiefs of Malabar, the joint commissioners had observed: "They have acted in their avidity to amass wealth more as scourgers and plunderers than as the protectors of their respective little states." The poor tenants lived in extreme subjugation and fear of landlords. It was seldom that Government enquired or interfered with the atrocities committed by the powerful landed gentry. This has given rise to widespread uprisings and outrages against Jenmies especially by the ryots of Mappila Community. The government was worried due to these happenings and appointed Mr. Logan as a commission to go into the causes. Mr. Logan, in his report submitted to Government in 1884, stated that agrarian discontent was the root cause of the unrest. He stated that the earlier British administrators could not really understand the system of land ownership in Malabar. They thought Jenmom right was absolute ownership right of the soil according to European ideas. But the fact was that the Kanakkaran was as much the proprietor of the soil as the Jenmi himself was in those days. They were in short co-proprietors bound

together in interest by admirable laws of custom. But the joint commissioners looked on Jenmi as the owner of the soil and 'Kanakkaran' as owners' leasee who is liable to be turned out of the lands and consequently, they issued proclamations accordingly throughout the District. The British law courts followed this and passed decrees to evict Kanakkars and tenants. The summary of conclusions arrived at by Mr. Logan were the following:

1. The original Malayali system of land tenure was a system of customary sharing of the produce, each customary sharer being permitted to free transfer of his interest on the land.
2. Under British rule one of these customary sharers has been exalted into the position of a European proprietor holding the plenium dominium as the Romans called it.
3. The other customary co-sharers have consequently been gradually pushed to the wall and do not now receive their customary shares and their right of free transfer of their interests has been virtually expropriated.
4. The insecurity to the ryots that this occasioned has resulted in fanatical outrages by Mappilas and in a great increase in crime.

Though Logan gave his report in 1884, the only remedial measure was taken in an Act of 1887 providing for compensation for the improvements raised by tenants when they are evicted. Protection against eviction was given only by the Malabar Tenancy Act of 1930. Better security of tenure and regulations of rent leviable from tenants were introduced only by the Tenancy Act, 1955. Even after the introduction of this Act, landlords continued to evict the tenants for arrears of rent and also under pretext of personal cultivation. The tenants were often forced to pay advances and presents in kind on festivals

like Vishu, Onam and also on occasions like marriage, child birth, etc., to the families of Jenmies. In measuring pattom itself, the ryots were put to hardship by the Jenmies and Karyashthara. Even in the recent past, it was a common sight in the countryside of Malabar area to see cultivators taking headloads of paddy to the distant tarawads of Jenmies and waiting in the out houses to get it measured. The Karyasthan will not accept the quantity of paddy unless his palm is greased. The granting of receipt places large power for evil in the hands of those low paid ignorant agents who have to be bribed by the ryots to remain in the good books of the Jenmies.

History of Reforms after Formation of Kerala

After the formation of Kerala State in 1956 the need for reform of the tenancy set up was accentuated. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, 1959, remained unimplemented as it was struck down by the Supreme Court. The present Act 1/1964 was enacted following the recommendations of the 1940 Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee and the Central directives on land reforms. The core of the reform is abolition of the landlord-tenant relationship, conferment of ownership of a small extent of land on hutment dwellers and fixation of a low ceiling on land holdings so as to allow distribution of surplus land to the landless. In implementation, the 1964 Act proved full of loopholes and ineffective. The procedure laid down for conferment of ownership rights on tenants was dependent on the civil court procedure which made it cumbersome and lethargic. The exemptions allowed in determining the ceiling area were unreasonable and the ceiling limit allowed was rather large in the context of the situation which prevailed here. So the Act was substantially amended by Act 35/1969. The procedure for assignment of Jenmom right Kudikidappu were streamlined and ceiling provisions were made more rigorous. This act has been brought into force on January 1, 1970 and

during a decade conferment of ownership of land to tenants and assignment of Kudikidappu rights have been virtually completed. The process of imposition of ceiling on land holdings and take over of and distribution of surplus land is in progress.

Assignment of Ownership Right on Tenants

The KLR Act has conferred full ownership right on tenants by extinguishing the right of the Jenmies. Under Section 72 of the Act, the right, title and interest of all lands held by tenants is vested with the Government on January 1, 1970, free of all encumbrances. The principal purpose of this vesting is to assign the land to the cultivating tenants. The tenant is not liable to pay any rent after the above date. They need pay only land revenue on the land to the government. In this process of liquidation of landlordism, the compensation that the tenant has to pay is only 16 times the fair rent. This fair rent should in no case exceed half the contract rent in the case of paddy lands and half of the contract rent in respect of garden lands. In cases where there is no contract rent, it is fixed as a certain percentage of gross produce which varies from district to district. Where there were improvements belonging to landlords, the tenants are bound to pay the value of such improvements subject to a maximum of 16 times the fair rent. If the tenant opted to pay the purchase price in one lumpsum he need pay only 75 per cent of the total amount. All the rent arrears except for two years preceeding January 1, 1970, were wiped out. The cultivating tenant receives a certificate of purchase from the Land Tribunal as soon as the order assigning Jenmom right becomes final.

Who All Are Tenants?

The definition of tenant in the Act is wide and sweeping. It takes in all sorts of adverse possession including sharecroppers, oral lessees, Varamadars and

certain mortgagees with possession. In fact, the Act recognises all occupiers except rank trespassers as tenants. If any tenant has been evicted from his land between April 1, 1964 and January 1, 1970, by any process, the Act provides for restoring to the tenant the possession of the land. Landlords who are small holders are allowed to resume limited extents of land from tenants for construction of residential houses, for personal cultivation and for extension of places of worship. These are contained under Sections 14 to 16 of the Act.

Conferment of Ownership on Tenants

A distinguishing feature of the Kerala Land Reforms Act is that instead of leaving the onus of getting the propriety right to the tenants, the Government has taken up this responsibility. The KLR Act, 1964, originally provided for the initiative to come from the tenants by requiring them to apply for getting the propriety right. It was then seen that the response was very poor since the applications received in a period of four years of implementing the Act were less than 1.5 per cent of the total estimated more than 27 lakh tenants. With such a slow process, it would have taken a long time to break the nexus of tenant-landlord relationship. Under the amended Act even if the tenant does not apply, **suo moto** cases are booked, the propriety right is conferred on the tenant and the purchase price is recovered under the Revenue Recovery Act. No tenant has the option to continue as a tenant. Similarly, no new tenancy can be created after April 1, 1964, on which date the original Act came into force.

Public Religious Institutions to Receive Annuity Instead of Compensation

Large extents of tenanted lands are held by religious and charitable institutions. In order to facilitate their continued functioning, the government has given

them the option to apply for getting an annuity of a sum equivalent to the fair rent that they were getting from the tenanted lands. In lieu of this recurring payment, the Government receives the purchase price from the tenants. Private religious institutions are not entitled for this facility. Pending finalisation of the annuity, there is provision to pay interim annuity to these institutions. A total number of 2,400 institutions, mostly temples, have applied for payment of annuity.

Progress of Assignment of Ownership Right

As of September 30, 1981, a total number of 36,73,056 tenancy cases had either been filed or booked *suo moto* out of which 36,60,516 cases have been decided. Of the decided cases, ownership right has been allowed in 24,75,020 cases and the balance rejected. By the end of September 1981, the applications pending decision were only 12,540. The cases classified as rejected include duplications as well as cases settled out of court. Reports have been received that some more applications are to be filed by tenants in certain parts of Malabar area. Steps have been taken to book *suo motu* cases in all the remaining tenanted holdings.

The correct total amount of land involved in the 24.75 lakh allowed tenancy cases has not been calculated. According to a statistical survey, it is approximately 20 lakh acres.

Payment of Compensation to Landlords

The Government has taken over the responsibility to pay compensation due to the landlords and in turn collects the purchase price from the tenants. All landlords whose total compensation is less than Rs. 5,000 get it in two instalments within a period of about one year after the order has become final. For others, 50 per cent of the compensation is paid by the Land Tribunal in lumpsum and the other 50 per cent is paid under orders of the Land Board in eight equal instalments. If

the tenants have opted to pay in lumpsum then the second half is also paid by the Land Board in lumpsum. There is scaling down of the total compensation when it exceeds Rs. 20,000. The second half of the compensation can be paid only after all the cases as landlord are determined. Though this payment is included as a plan scheme the progress of which is closely watched, payment remains to be made in a considerably large number of cases. The progress of payment, as on August 31, 1981, is as follows:

	(Rs. in lakh)
Amount due for payment	2050.544
Amount paid	1739.890
Balance	310.654

The progress of collection of dues from tenants as on August 31, 1981, is as follows:

Amount of purchase price due	2400.48
Amount collected	2086.83
Balance	313.65

Problem of Landlords Turned Poor as a Result of Abolition of Tenancy

The abolition of tenancy has left thousands of landlords in the State especially in the districts of Malabar area in distress. Persons who were solely depending on rental income from their lands suddenly lost their means of livelihood. The meagre compensation due to them was allowed only in instalments and that too did not reach them in time due to official delays. These people, mostly belonging to higher castes, were not used to any trade or other vocation. The framers of the Act

had foreseen this contingency and had made provision under Section 109 of the Act for constituting a fund entitled Agriculturists' Rehabilitation Fund of not less than Rs. 2 crore to help these persons. There is provision in the Act to give solatium equal to the amount of compensation subject to a maximum of Rs. 1,500. There is provision also to give them loan and grant for self employment. Accordingly, a scheme has been drawn up to give financial assistance up to Rs. 10,000 for starting small scale industries or for rearing milch cows, etc. To start with, its implementation is restricted to Palghat district only.

Conferment of Ownership Right to Kudikidappukars (Hutment Dwellers)

Another reform envisaged in the Act is in respect of Kudikidappukars (hutment dwellers). Kudikidappukars are mostly labourers and village artisans without their own land. They live in homesteads erected by them on someone else's land or are living in huts provided by the land owners with or without the liability to pay rent. The system of Kudikidappukars and their origin is in the land owning agriculturists wanting to be assured of a sufficient labour force for proper and efficient management of their farms and timely attention to the various processes of cultivation. Besides being given huts to live in, these poor labourers are allowed some customary benefits like supply of material for thatching their house, certain quantity of grain at the time of harvest, etc. In its very nature the relationship between the Kudikidappukaran and the landlord has been more informal and custom based than formal and recorded. With the steady growth of agrarian movement and political enlightenment in the rural areas coupled with the introduction of the new strategy with increasing use of mechanisation in agriculture, the relationships between the land owners and Kudikidappukara began to develop strains and even break. There have been attempts to

evict the Kudikidappukars from their traditional dwelling places. This necessitated protection of these poor persons and also their rehabilitation to ensure them at least a marginal existence.

The KLR Act confers on the Kudikidappukaran the right to purchase a small extent of land extending to 10 cents in villages, 5 cents in municipalities other than municipalities in district head quarters and three cents in corporation areas and municipalities in district head-quarters. The compensation to which the land owner is entitled in such cases is only 25 per cent of the market value of the land. Even out of this 25 per cent, one-half is paid by the State Government from out of the Kudikidappukars' Benefit Fund. The other half which is only one-eighth of the market value is paid by the Kudikidappukaran in 12 equal annual instalments. The Kudikidappukaran has the option to continue as Kudikidappukars. In that case, the Act protects him against eviction and also confers the right of getting certain amenities. They are allowed to extend the plinth area of the hut or the homestead at their own expense without any reference to the land owners. They are allowed to electrify their residence and get protected water supply if they so desire without waiting for the pleasure of the land owner. Any violation of their customary or any other rights provided in the Act is a cognizable offence punishable with imprisonment.

The system of Kudikidappukars is predominant mostly in the Travancore and Cochin area of the State and also in coastal taluks like Tirur, Kozhikode, Badagara, Cannanore, etc., of the Malabar area. After the Act was brought into force it was a happy experience to find that a large number of landlords shared the spirit of the legislation and came forward to settle the Kudikidappu right on mutual consent basis without resort to long litigation. In ever so many cases the Kudikidappukars have been given either the same land or an alternate land and the petitions before the Land

Tribunals withdrawn. A total number of 4,43,672 Kudiki-dappu applications were filed as on September 30, 1981. Out of the above, ownership right has been conferred by allowing the petitions in 2,71,239 applications and 1,68,000 applications rejected. By the end of September 1981, only 4,443 applications were pending decision with various Land Tribunals. A good majority of these applications were filed only in the second half of 1980 or in early 1981 and steps are under way to decide them expeditiously. As already explained, the applications categorised as rejected are cases in which the benefit of Kudikidappu has been given to the applicants by settlement outside the court and the applications withdrawn.

Ceiling Provisions

The Act provides for fixation of ceiling on land holdings and for the take over and distribution of surplus land. After January 1, 1970, no family shall hold land in excess of the ceiling prescribed in the Act. The family means the father, mother and minor children. An adult unmarried person is a single member family. The maximum extent that can be held by a family with five members is 10 standard acres limited to a maximum of 15 ordinary acres. Standardisation of acres can be said to be on the basis of productivity of land. One acre of coconut garden or double crop wet land is a standard acre. Two and half acres of dry land or two acres of single crop wet land is also equal to one standard acre. An adult unmarried person is allowed to hold five standard acres subject to a maximum of seven and half ordinary acres. In calculating ceiling area, house sites, commercial sites, plantations like rubber, tea, coffee, cardamom, etc., are exempted. The Government has got powers to exempt land for industrial concerns and religious and charitable institutions. In calculating the total extent of land held by a person all transfers affected by him after September 15, 1963,

which is the date of publication of the Kerala Land Reforms Bill are treated as invalid. However, by Amendment Act 27 of 1979, gifts in favour of major sons and daughters and also sons and daughters of predeceased sons and daughters up to November 5, 1974, have been made valid. Compensation is paid on flat rates as laid down in schedule IV of the Act. For one acre of coconut garden or double crop wet land it is Rs. 2,000 per acre, for arecanut garden it is Rs. 3,000 which is the maximum. For land left fallow and which cannot be put to cultivation without incurring heavy expenditure, compensation is only Rs. 100 per acre. After Rs. 1 lakh, there is a scaling down of the compensation amount. The maximum compensation which a landlord is entitled to is limited to Rs. 2 lakh.

According to a preliminary survey made before the implementation of the Act, the surplus land available throughout the State is 1.5 lakh acres approximately and this land is involved in 6,000 ceiling cases. Since the Act makes it obligatory on persons holding land exceeding six acres and every family holding in excess of 12 acres to file a ceiling return a total number of 75,245 ceiling cases were either filed or booked *suo moto*. Of this, 71,739 cases were decided in which a total extent of 1,18,272.07 acres of excess land were ordered for surrender. Of the above, an extent of 79,034.03 acres were taken over and 52,310.89 acres were distributed to eligible persons. An extent of 38,031.42 acres is involved either in stay orders issued by the High Court or categorised as vested forests, etc. A total number of 89,837 persons have been benefitted by the assignment of surplus land out of which about 50 per cent belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Of the land taken over an extent of 2,337.72 acres remains to be distributed. About 2,000 Civil Revision Petitions filed in the High Court against the decision of Taluk Land Boards are awaiting decision. Similarly, 3,506 ceiling returns are also pending decision by the Taluk Land Boards. When

those cases are also decided, surplus land extending to about 35,000 acres more will be available for distribution.

Administrative Machinery

The implementation of the Act is entrusted to a fairly large administrative machinery. Applications for purchase of Jenmom right by tenants and Kudikidappu rights are decided by the Land Tribunals. Against their decision, appeal lies to the Appellate Authorities. Against the decision of the Appellate Authorities, a revision lies in the High Court.

During January 1970, when the Act was brought into force, Government was not in position to find resources to appoint Land Tribunals throughout the State. So the BDOs Were made part-time Tribunals in their areas and special Tahsildars were appointed in areas where the work was heavy. They were given brief training in legal procedure and in deciding cases after taking evidence and observing the basic principles of natural justice and fair play. When the work gained momentum, the BDO Tribunals found it difficult to cope with the magnitude of work. This necessitated appointment of full-time Tribunals throughout the State. The Central Government also came to the help of the State at this juncture by including Land Reforms as one of the items in the 20-point economic programme. Accordingly, part-time BDO Tribunals were dispensed with and full-time special Tahsildars were appointed from the year 1974-75. During the years 1975-78 which was the period of vigorous implementation of the Act, there were 259 Land Tribunals in the State. Consequent on reduction in their workload their number has been reduced and now there are only 64 Land Tribunals. There are also 11 Deputy Collector Land Tribunals attending to the annuity applications of religious institutions and five other special Deputy Collector Land Tribunals dealing with miscellaneous cases for recovery of arrears, resumption for personal

cultivation, etc.

Returns filed under the ceiling provisions are enquired into and decided by the Taluk Land Boards. The Land Board is presided over by a special Deputy Collector and has got six non-official members. The decision is by the majority. A revision against the decision of the Taluk Land Board lies with the High Court. Surplus land taken over is distributed by the District Collector. There are 58 Taluk Land Boards in the State at the rate of one for each Taluk. The State Land Board exercises over all superintendence over the Land Tribunals, Appellate Authorities and Taluk Land Boards. There is also a State level Land Reforms Review Board with the Minister in charge of Revenue as its Chairman.

Barring Jurisdiction of Civil Courts

Section 125 of the Act bars the jurisdiction of Civil Courts in deciding any question to be decided either by the Land Tribunals, Appellate Authority or by Taluk Land Boards under the Act. If any question about tenancy of Kudikidappu arises in the course of civil court proceedings, the civil court shall refer that question to the Land Tribunal having jurisdiction over the area and in respect of that matter the decision of the Land Tribunal shall be final. However, against the decision of Taluk Land Boards in ceiling cases, a revision lies to High Court.

Redundancy of Record of Rights

There is provision under Section 29 of the Act for preparation of record of rights. The original idea was to implement the tenancy and Kudikidappu provisions after the preparation of record of rights has progressed. Some steps for this had been taken during the years 1966-69. This was to protect the tenants, especially tenants without record of their possession, against forceable eviction by landlords. But since

the tenancy and Kudikidappu provisions have been implemented straight away, record of rights have become redundant.

Kudikidappukar Housing Scheme

During 1979, a scheme had been evolved for rendering financial assistance to Kudikidappukara to reconstruct their houses. It consisted of a loan of Rs. 3,000 from the State Bank of India and a grant of Rs.500 from Kudikidappukara Benefit Fund. The loan carried an interest of only 4 per cent. The scheme was to construct 15,000 houses in the taluks of Quilon, Ambalapuzha and Shertallai.

Of the 14,831 applications received, so far the first instalment has been disbursed in 12,417 and the second instalment in 11,966 cases. Steps are being taken to complete the scheme by making payment to the remaining applicants also.

Another housing scheme more beneficial to Kudikidappukars has been implemented this year. It consists of a loan of Rs.4,000 and grant of Rs.1,000 from Kudikidappukara Benefit Fund. The scheme is implemented through the State Housing Scheme Board who meet the loan portion. The aim is to construct 35,000 houses within a period of 3 years. The scheme is being implemented throughout the State except the hill districts of Idukki, Wynad and Palghat.

Central Government Scheme for Giving Financial Assistance to Assignees of Surplus Land

The Government of India had drawn up a Central sector plan scheme for financial assistance to the assignees of surplus lands for the development and cultivation of the lands declared as surplus as a result of imposition of land ceiling on agricultural holdings in the State. The financial assistance was in the shape of a short-term input subsidy by way of outright grant of Rs.100 per acres and investment support for long-term

development at Rs. 200 per acre by way of grant and loan in equal proportion. Under this scheme, a total amount of Rs. 32.5 lakh was distributed and utilised so far as follows:

	Rs. (in lakh)
Grant	25.5
Loan	7.0

The Government of India has modified the above scheme from the financial year 1979-80 onwards. As per the modified scheme, the scale of assistance will be Rs. 1,000 per hectare and the entire assistance will be in the form of a grant to be used to finance a scheme of agricultural development suited to the conditions of each holding or a group of holdings. The assistance under this scheme is admissible to all assignees of surplus lands after January 1, 1975. The assignees who had received any assistance under the old scheme are eligible to receive only the difference between the amount eligible under the new scheme and the grant portion of assistance received under the old scheme. A total grant of Rs. 24.5 lakh has been allotted to the District Collectors under the modified scheme for financial assistance to the assignees of surplus lands.

Economic Impact of Land Reforms

The fact that implementation of Land Reforms has caused a silent revolution in Kerala cannot be denied. However, the question of the magnitude by which it has furthered the proclaimed objective of economic advancement with social justice requires empirical investigation. No official survey has been taken up on the impact of Land Reforms on the economic front. Officially, the persons who have now become land owners are only those who purchased Kudikidappu rights and the assignees of surplus land. This works out to about 4.5 lakh families.

But there has been large-scale fragmentation of land and alienation by big land owners during the two decades after 1960. The militancy of the agrarian movement and the real threat of official land reforms combined to create a parallel movement of informal land reforms. This has helped to increase the number of families owning or having land interest. There is a feeling, however, that the beneficiaries of the abolition of landlordism have been the middle class and lower middle class peasants and not the poor landless agricultural labourers. Table 1 shows that the number of land owning families has substantially increased during the past about 20 years:

Table 1

1959-60		1970-71		1976-77	
Per-cent- age of house holds own- ing no land	Per-cent- age of house holds neither owning nor ope- rating land	Per-cent- age of house holds own- ing no land	Per-cent- age of house holds neither owning nor ope- rating land	Per-cent- age of house holds own- ing no land	Per-cent- age of house holds neither owning nor ope- rating land
31.94	17.47	15.74	10.25	6.70	Not available

Table 2 will show that the percentage of marginal holdings have increased while the number of large holdings have registered a sharp decline:

Table 2

Size/Class of operational holdings	Percentage of household operational holdings			
	1953-54	1959-60	1970-71	1976-77
1. Marginal holdings	55.6	59.4	67.9	87.7
2. Small holdings	32.4	31.7	27.2	8.1
3. Medium Holdings	6.5	5.1	5.6	4.1
4. Large Holdings	5.5	3.8	1.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	101.9 *	100.0

* Percentage figures are approximations.

The success of Land Reforms, especially the tenancy provision, owes a lot to the official machinery which has the responsibility of implementation. The drive for implementation was at its climax during 1976. Dealing with about 40 lakh applications, deciding on them, collecting and making payments and maintenance and updating of records is indeed a tremendous task. The implementation of Land Reforms in Kerala is a shining example of what a determined political leadership together with dedicated officials is capable of achieving.

Consolidation of Holdings Operations in Himachal Pradesh

DHANI RAM

It is a well established fact all over the world today that excessive fragmentation of agricultural holdings is one of the most serious obstacles to efficient and profitable farming. This is evident from the fact that consolidation of holdings has been given a prominent place in the planned development of our country with a view to rehabilitate agriculture which is the mainstay of livelihood of most of our people. Realising its utmost importance for the planned development of the agricultural sector, the Government of India included this scheme in the new 20-Point Programme and it has been decided to step up the consolidation operations in all the States and the target date of 1990 has been fixed at the national level to complete the consolidation operations in all the feasible areas throughout the country.

Fragmentation of holdings is a continuing process because of numerous factors responsible for the same. A close study of the economic thought and policy in India reveals that there had been a general lack of the recognition of the important fact that the problem of the fragmentation of holdings is distinct from and also, more serious than that of sub-division of holdings. Fragmentation is quite different from sub-division and refers to the manner in which the land held by an individual or individual family is scattered throughout the village in plots separated by land in the possession of others. The average size of holdings goes on decreasing

day by day and in fact goes on multiplying into smaller holdings and this is the result of sub-division of the holdings. Fragmentation is caused not so much by the act of sub-division, as by the manner in which it is effected. Fragmentation has, therefore, been defined as a vicissitude of agriculture of which the characteristic is that a large number of land owners are in possession of holdings which are not only split up into uneconomic parcels but are also scattered over a wide area. The problem of fragmentation is closely associated with that of excessive sub-division of holdings and the two are, therefore, generally co-existent. Thus, consolidation of holdings has come to be recognised as an important land reform measure with a view not only to consolidate different fragmented holdings in compact blocks but also for providing suitable and adequate land for civic amenities like new paths, roads, sites for schools, dispensaries, panchayat ghars, etc. The process of updating the land records has also been systematically interlinked with the process of consolidation of holdings.

BACKGROUND

Consolidation operations were started in the state in the year 1954 on an experimental basis in the old areas of the Pradesh under the provisions of the Himachal Pradesh Consolidation of Holdings Act, 1953. At that time, Himachal Pradesh, comprised of 4 districts only, namely, Mahasu, Sirmur, Mandi and Chamba. As the operations were taken up only on an experimental basis, therefore, the segments of plain lands in the Pradesh were initially taken up for this purpose and after seeing the tangible results of these operations these were further extended to other parts of the state also. To start with, the operations were restricted to Kunihar valley of Mahasu District, Balh valley of Mandi District and Paonta valley of Sirmur District. Each of these

valleys was put under the charge of a Naib-Tehsildar with an adequate number of Kanungos and Patwaris for consolidation of holdings. The concerned Tehsildars and Revenue Assistants were made responsible to look after these operations within their respective jurisdictions. With the merger of Bilaspur, a part-C state, with Himachal Pradesh as a fifth district, the consolidation operations were extended to the plain areas of this new district also.

In November 1966 some more areas of the composite Punjab State were integrated with the State of Himachal Pradesh. There the Punjab laws were applicable and the consolidation work was already going on in the newly merged District Kangra and Tehsil Nalagarh. Accordingly, two Consolidation Officer Circles which were operating in these areas were also transferred to this state from Punjab. Upto that time, Arki, Nahan and Paonta tehsils of the old Himachal and Kangra, Palampur, Nurpur, Dehra, Una, Hamirpur and Nalagarh Tehsils of the merged area had been partially covered by these operations.

Since the consolidation operations in the neighbouring State of Punjab were in full swing they had their effect in creating awareness in the people of this state also. The people in the merged areas had already tasted the benefits derived from consolidation operations, therefore, the demand for taking up more and more areas went on mounting but no organised and concentrated efforts could be made towards extension of this scheme on a large scale in the entire Pradesh because of paucity of funds and various other factors.

THE POLICY

The policy of the government previously was to restrict these operations upto an altitude of 2,500 feet only. Another impediment was the condition that

the consent of the majority population of the light holders was a pre-requisite for commencing these operations in any estate. But recently, the government decided to waive off both of these conditions and the present policy is to consolidate all feasible areas throughout the Pradesh irrespective of altitude and the consent of the right holders. To bring uniformity in actions and procedures and to give a unified law to the whole state, the Himachal Pradesh Holdings (Consolidation and Prevention of fragmentation) Act, 1971 was enacted and enforced in the state.

The State Government has also decided to step up the consolidation operations and to complete the same in all the feasible areas as early as possible. Norms and targets of work Patwariwise have also been fixed. The target fixed is to complete repartition of holdings and consignment of new records for 250 acres per Patwari per annum. However, this target has been revised upwards by 10 per cent for this year (1982-83) as this has been declared the year of productivity.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAMME

Himachal Pradesh is mainly a hilly and semi-hilly state and the geographical and physical conditions are more favourable in the state for developing horticulture as compared to agriculture. There are few fertile valleys where the lands are comparatively flat where agricultural crops can be successfully grown and the farming can be made efficient and profitable. These valleys are Kangra valley, Una valley, Hamirpur valley, Paonta valley, Bahl valley in District Mandi, some areas of Nalagarh tehsil in District Solan and parts of District Bilaspur. The primary objectives of the scheme are, therefore, to consolidate agricultural holdings, to prevent the fragmentation of agricultural holdings in the state and also to assign and reserve land for common

purposes of the village. The consolidation operations are also aimed at bringing the land records up to date before the actual consolidation operations start. It is also intended to bring operational efficiency, extension of cultivation, land development, and social and administrative gains with the view to maximise the agricultural production thus making the state self-sufficient in foodgrains and to ameliorate the economic condition of the rural masses of the Pradesh. To start with, the lower districts of the Pradesh will be covered; thereafter, higher altitudes wherever possible shall be tackled.

The involvement of the village right holders in the whole process has been ensured within the framework of the Act and Rules with a view to keep the interests of the right holders in the forefront and also to complete the whole process in a democratic way. Thus, maximum degree of discretion has been given to the consolidation advisory committee and the field implementing departmental agency. Detailed departmental instructions have been issued to the field staff to ensure that the objectives of the whole programme are fully understood by them.

THE RESOURCES

The resources required for the efficient implementation of the programme are financial resources, trained manpower, the detailed guidelines in the shape of a comprehensive Act, Rules and Departmental Manual explaining the details of the whole mechanism in language easily understandable both by the implementers as well as the beneficiaries.

Financial Resources

The availability of financial resources has not been sufficient till recently but now an organised effort has been made to allocate sufficient available

finances within the state allocations. The operations are partly being financed from non-Plan scheme and partly under Plan scheme. However, the major source is now under the Plan scheme. The following Chart will show the financial resources so far made available for the implementation of this scheme within the state which does not include the amounts spent by the Punjab Government in carrying out the operations in the merged areas till the re-organisation in the year 1966:

(In lakh)

1. Total funds spent upto
the beginning of the Sixth
Five Year Plan including
Non-Plan

212.32

2. Total resources allocated
for the Sixth Plan period

130

3. Yearwise Break-up

	Plan		Non-Plan		Total Expen- diture /outlay
	Out- lay	Expendi- ture	Out- lay	Expendi- ture	
1980-81	20.00	19.91	6.90	7.94	27.85
1981-82	22.00	23.32	7.81	8.74	32.06
1982-83 (Proposed)	40.00		9.30		49.30
1983-84 (Tentative)	70.00		10.70		80.70
1984-85 (Tentative requirement)	75.00		11.00		86.00

It is evident from the above figures that though there has been a progressive increase in the allocation of financial resources for this scheme, yet sufficient funds were not allocated. If the entire feasible area is to be consolidated by the target date of 1990, then the total requirement of funds is about 25 crores which is not likely to be met by the State Government. The details of the area consolidated and remaining feasible area for consolidation are given as per Annexure 3.

Man Power

Consolidation operations are of technical nature and therefore, fully trained staff is required for the efficient implementation of this scheme. To start with, trained revenue staff from Mohal (Revenue) side at the supervisory level was employed for implementing this scheme. At the time of reorganisation of the erstwhile State of Punjab, the trained staff from the Consolidation Department of that state was also transferred to this state. For the present, we have trained our own Patwaris to meet the requirements of the near future, and if further expansion takes place we will have to train more and more Patwaris. Actually, the trained Patwaris from this department prefer to shift to Mohal side and this has been causing a brain drain in this department. From Patwaris upto ACOs level, the staff entirely belongs to this department and some of the Consolidation Officers are taken on deputation from the State Tehsildars' cadre. The Settlement Officer, Consolidation, who is incharge of the operations at the field level is taken from the State Administrative cadre from amongst the officers who have complete revenue background. The Director and Additional Director are also appointed from amongst the officers who have full revenue backgrounds from the IAS and Himachal Administrative Service respectively.

Act, Rules and Manual of Instructions

The Himachal Pradesh Holdings (Consolidation and Prevention of Fragmentation) Act, 1971 is a comprehensive Act which provides for consolidation of agricultural holdings, prevention of fragmentation of holdings and also for assignment and reservation of lands for common purposes of the right holders. It also provides that the land records will be brought up-to-date before the actual consolidation operations are taken up. The Act also provides that the State Government can notify the area for determination of standard area and treatments of fragments and may also prescribe the minimum area that can be cultivated profitably as a separate plot. But this minimum area has not been prescribed so far. Comprehensive rules under the Act have however been framed and apart from this, detailed instructions in the shape of a book and a manual of instructions have also been prepared and issued to the implementing agency.

Guidance and Communication Activities

Apart from the detailed instructions issued for the guidance of Patwaris, Kanungos, ACOs, COs and the Settlement Officer, the implementation process is also being discussed from time to time by the senior officers of the department with the implementing agency at all levels. Difficulties, if any, in the implementation of the scheme are removed by issuing suitable timely instructions to all the staff to maintain uniformity of action from time to time. While holding the periodical inspections of the Patwaris, Kanungos, and ACOs, requisite guidance is given on the spot and if any point which affects the overall working is noticed, the same is then brought to the notice of the whole field staff. The implementing agency, therefore, fully understands the objectives to be achieved and there is consistency and uniformity in the communications sent to them through departmental instructions. There is regular

feedback by way of periodical reports and returns and regular inspections. The points of common interest are promptly being circulated to all concerned to ensure uniformity of action. Monthly and quarterly monitoring is done regularly. At the end of the year overall performance is judged and those who achieve the targets and exceed are given cash awards also.

Characteristics of Implementing Agency

The scheme of consolidation is being implemented by the Department of Consolidation which is a part of the Revenue Department of the State. The department works under the overall supervision and administrative control of the Revenue Minister through Financial Commissioner (Revenue)-cum-Secretary Revenue. The authorities prescribed under Section 15 of the Act for carrying out the consolidation operations are as under:

1. Director of Consolidation;
2. Settlement Officer (Consolidation);
3. Consolidation Officer; and
4. Assistant Consolidation Officer.

The Act also provide that when a revenue estate or a group of estates is notified for taking up the work of consolidation of holdings, the normal revenue administration ceases to exercise jurisdiction over such estates and the duty for maintaining the maps, field book and preparing the annual record under the Land Revenue Act stands transferred to the Settlement Officer (Consolidation) and thereupon all the powers conferred on the Collector and Assistant Collectors under the said Act and Rules shall, so long as such estates remain under the consolidation operations, be exercised by the consolidation authorities mentioned above. The Department is headed by the Director of Consolidation who has been given this charge in addition to his own duties as Director of Land Records. To assist him, a post of

Additional Director, Consolidation of Holdings has been created recently. To receive, hear and decide the revision applications the Director, Consolidation of Holdings has been delegated the powers of the State Government under Section 54 of the Consolidation Act. Such powers have also been delegated to the Additional Director, Consolidation of Holdings in respect of those cases which are transferred to him by the Director, Consolidation of Holdings. The powers of Director, Consolidation under Section 30(4) of the Act stand delegated to the Deputy Director, Land Records for hearing appeals under the said section. However, the administrative control and supervision of the field agency remains with the Director and the Additional Director. At the field level, Settlement Officer (Consolidation) exercises the powers of Collector as well as that of the Settlement Officer, Consolidation and he is incharge of the operations at the field level. He is assisted by the Consolidation Officers, Assistant Consolidation Officers, Kanungos and Patwaris. The present organisational set-up is as per Annexure 1 attached. It has now been proposed to reorganise the existing unit on the standard pattern as given in Annexure 2.

The implementing agency is quite competent to carry out the duties entrusted to them. The staff, i.e., Patwaris, Kanungos, ACOs and COs who belong to the Department have gained good and vast experience and in fact, have become experts at their work. The other supervisory officers, i.e., the Settlement Officer (Consolidation), Deputy Director of Land Records, Additional Director and Director are also fully competent in the performance of their duties as it is ensured that only the officers who have full grasp over revenue laws and procedures are posted on these assignments.

Director of Consolidation

The Director is drawn from the state IAS cadre with

revenue background. The functions of Director of Consolidation of Holdings are presently being done by the Director of Land Records in addition to his own duties. However, the Director of Consolidation is the chief organiser and supervisor of the work on behalf of the government and has for that purpose been vested with wide powers both judicial and executive. His judicial functions are mainly to hear revision petitions under Section 54 whereunder he exercises the powers of the State Government. In order to give him necessary control over the field staff it has been provided that the annual confidential reports of the Additional Director, Settlement Officer (C/H) and Consolidation Officer (Vigilance) are to be initiated by him. The reports in respect of other consolidation officers are sent to him by the Settlement Officer for final acceptance. In respect of Assistant Consolidation Officers he is the final reviewing authority and accepting authority. In respect of Kanungos and Patwaris he is the final authority. Further, he exercises the powers of transfers, etc. Powers of appointment to the post of Patwari and promotions to the posts of Kanungos and Assistant Consolidation Officers vest in him.

The Director is also the head of the department both for income and expenditure and in that capacity prepares the budget estimates, allocates posts and watches expenditure and receipts. Supply of various forms and statements and equipment of the staff with furniture and survey instruments, etc., likewise form part of his job.

He is the highest technical adviser in consolidation matters and issues necessary instructions to the field staff. He watches the progress by receiving monthly progress reports from the field and apprises the government about the achievements. On points of detail, his recommendations are accepted as those of an expert charged with the duties of a technical character but doubtful and important questions are referred by him for

the orders of the Financial Commissioner.

Additional Director of Consolidation of Holdings

He is second in command and assists the Director in all matters referred to above. He also exercises the powers of the State Government for disposal of revision petitions under Section 54 on judicial side in cases transferred to him by the Director, Consolidation of Holdings. At Directorate level he is the pivot officer through whom all the matters requiring the orders of the Director are routed. He is a State Administrative Officer with complete revenue background.

Settlement Officer (Consolidation)

The Settlement Officer (Consolidation) works under the general control of the Additional Director, Consolidation of Holdings and the Director. He is charged with the duty of carrying on consolidation work in the district. The Act authorises him to hear appeals against the orders of the Consolidation Officer and he is the final authority for confirmation of the scheme of consolidation in a village. He can also vary or revoke a scheme confirmed by him, if necessary.

In administrative matters he has been given wide powers of control over the staff in his jurisdiction. The powers of Collector under the Land Revenue Act are vested in him. He is also from the State Administrative Service with revenue background.

Consolidation Officers

These officers are either promoted departmentally or are taken on deputation from Tehsildars' cadre of the State. The main burden of work in the field falls on the Consolidation Officer who is well versed in his job. The Act imposes upon him the duty of preparation of the scheme and he is authorised to hear objections against the scheme as well as the repartition. Briefly his

duties are:

1. Preparation of the programme of work in each village and keeping a watch over progress;
2. supplying requisite forms and equipment to the Kanungos and Patwaris;
3. supervision of classification and valuation of fields, preparation of the scheme and repartition in each village;
4. considering objections, if any, against the scheme of repartition and their speedy disposal;
5. supervision of the work relating to preparation of preliminary and final records; and,
6. keeping a vigilant eye over the conduct of his staff and attending immediately to any complaint of corruption, etc. in his circle.

He is expected to spend most of his time on tour and organise his touring in such a way that the work of each village is checked at regular intervals.

Assistant Consolidation Officer

As in the case of Consolidation Officer only experienced officials are appointed to this post. The following powers are generally delegated to him by the consolidation officer:

1. formation of advisory committee in the village;
2. power to impose penalty for destruction, injury or removal of survey marks;
3. power to summon persons for purposes of consolidation; and,
4. power to appoint guardians of minors, etc., for the purposes of Consolidation Act.

The ACO is personally responsible for the correct classification and valuation of the fields in a village and for the preparation of its scheme. He is to carry out

the repartition of land in the village strictly in accordance with the scheme, closely supervise the preparation of preliminary and final records and check the work done by the Patwari and Kanungo at all stages. Like the Consolidation Officer he must also be out on frequent and systematic tours visiting the various villages in his charge and checking the work of various patwaris and Kanungos from day-to-day.

Kanungo and Patwari

Kanungo is responsible for getting the work done according to the programme laid down by his superior officers and must exercise thorough check over the work of Patwari at every stage. He is required to ensure that all the notifications prescribed under the Act are duly published in the village concerned. He should personally supervise demarcation and measurement. He checks the record prepared by the Patwari and is responsible for the accurate preparation of all the papers. He is further to ensure that the mistakes pointed out by him in his own inspections or by other officers in their inspections are removed by the Patwari and for that purpose he must inspect the work of each Patwari frequently.

At the lowest rung of the ladder, though in no way less important than others, is the Patwari, who actually carries on the work of measurement and preparation of record in all its stages. The main burden of the work in the village falls upon him and on his efficiency in the field depends the ultimate success and speed of the operations. It is important that he applies his mind to the work and gives sufficient performance each day or else the work is likely to go slow.

Characteristics of the Implementing Agency

From the above discussions and Annexures 1 and 2 which give the organisational set-up we can safely say that the size of the implementing agency is not

adequate.

Laying down the policy on land reforms of which consolidation of holdings is a part, the Planning Commission in the Sixth Plan document at para 9.100 (iv) has said as under:

Programme of consolidation of holdings would be taken up by all states phased for completion in 10 years with priority to be given to command areas of irrigated projects where it should be completed in 3 to 5 years. Legislative measures for preventing fresh fragmentation of holdings after consolidation to a minimum size would also be considered.

Accordingly, the target date at the national level has been fixed as March, 1990 and the same has been adopted by the state. The total feasible area in this state is about 49 lakh acres as per an old survey report and out of this an area of 11,88,560 acres has been consolidated upto March, 1982 which leaves a balance of 37,11,440 acres to be consolidated by March, 1990. At present, the strength of Patwaris in this department is only 190 and the State Government has decided to set up a new consolidation unit with about 170 more Patwaris which means that the size of the agency will almost be doubled by the end of this financial year. It is also proposed to reorganise the existing unit on a standardised pattern and the strength of Patwaris after the setting up of the new unit will go up to 362. But out of this, some Patwaris will be employed on miscellaneous work and the actual working strength of Patwaris who will be deployed for achieving the targets of the department shall be about 340. The target for the current financial year is 41,870 acres taking both Plan and Non-Plan and thereafter it will depend upon the number of Patwaris sanctioned by the Government. It is further proposed to consolidate about 62,287 acres during the year 1983-84 considering both Plan and Non-Plan. Thus,

the balance for consolidation will be 36,07,283 acres by the end of 1983-84 which will have to be consolidated in the remaining 6 years from 1984-85 to 1989-90. To complete this work by the target date, a large number of additional Patwaris along with other supervisory staff are required. On a standardised pattern, the total strength of one consolidation unit is 328 presently. Thus, 10 more complete consolidation units under the charge of Settlement Officers would be required to be set up from the year 1984-85 to the year 1989-90 in addition to the existing unit and the proposed new unit. Therefore, we come to the conclusion that the size of the agency at present is very small and is not sufficient for fulfilling the targets by the stipulated date.

The Technique of Consolidation and the Decision-Making Processes within the Implementing Agency

The scheme of consolidation becomes operative in any revenue estate or group of estates as soon as the notification under Section 14 of the Act is issued by the Government. The consolidation machinery comes into action on receipt of this notification. As soon as this notification is issued, the duty of maintaining maps, field books and preparing annual records under the Land Revenue Act is transferred to the Settlement Officer (Consolidation) who also exercises the powers of Collector and thereupon all powers of Collector and Assistant Collectors under the Land Revenue Act and rules are exercised by the consolidation authorities already discussed. A village advisory committee is formed giving representation to various sections of right holders and this committee is consulted at the time of valuation of lands and formation of the blocks for repartition. The whole land in the village is evaluated according to standard value which is fixed at 16 annas and this evaluation is done keeping in view the productivity of the land. The right holders are consulted and the

test of correct evaluation is that the village individual should be willing to accept exchange for his own plot at the new evaluation. The standard best land is valued at 16 annas and the other inferior lands are of comparatively lower value. The revenue record of such estates is taken over by the consolidation staff and the consolidation process commences thereafter.

Revision and Correction of Records: As provided under Section 14, the first step to be taken is that the ACC or the CO shall examine the village map, field book and the record of rights and form an opinion as to whether revision of map or records is necessary. Before commencing the consolidation work he will report to the State Government for the revision of the same if it is necessary to carry out the measurements. Thereafter, the State Government shall issue a notification for revision of the record of rights of that village under the Land Revenue Act. If the Consolidation Officer is of the opinion that the revision of maps and records is not necessary then he proceeds to carry out field to field inspection with the help of the village map and field book and also proceeds to correct the entries in the revenue record in accordance with the provision of the Land Revenue Act and Rules. In correcting and bringing the record up-to-date the Kanungo is required to make field to field checking of the village and submit a report on the following points:

- (a) the total number of plots in the village;
- (b) the number of plots which have changed their shape by division and accretion;
- (c) the number of fields and their area created as a result of extension of cultivation;
- (d) the number of fields and their area which have remained out of cultivation for more than four years and the reasons therefor;

(e) a list of mistakes detected by him in:

- (i) the map,
- (ii) the Khasra in respect of area and possession,
- (iii) the last jamabandi as a result of the checking and test thereof in accordance with the provisions of the Himachal Pradesh Land Records Manual, and
- (iv) the number and particulars of scattered trees and wells standing in the different plots.

On receipt of the above report of the Kanungo, the ACO/CO is required to check it by making a field to field inspection. He will effect during the course of checking as many reconciliations between tenure holders (which shall be reduced to writing) as possible and will then prepare a report on his findings. This report is sent to the State Government giving reasons as to whether revision of maps and records is necessary in the concerned village and a statement showing the number of errors in maps, khasras and jamabandis corrected by mutual agreements is also sent.

The State Government on receipt of the aforementioned report issues a notification regarding revision of records which is published in the official gazette. Thereupon, a revised map and a field book and the records of rights is prepared for the village in accordance with the provisions of the Land Revenue Act and Rules thereunder for the purpose.

Alternatively, if after the checking, the ACO/CO is of the opinion that a revision of map and records is not necessary and only corrections are required to be made in the revenue records, he is required to proceed to correct the entries in the revenue records in accordance with the provisions of the Himachal Pradesh Land Revenue Act and the Rules thereunder.

The records prepared or corrected, as stated above, are thereafter published in the village and the right-holders are issued booklets containing the details of the lands held by them and they are given time to file objections, if any, which are thereafter decided by the CO within the village.

The consolidation authorities up to the level of Settlement Officer (C/H) exercise dual powers during the consolidation operations. Firstly, they are working as Collector and Assistant Collectors under the provisions of Land Revenue Act for the maintenance and updating of the record-of-rights and secondly, they are also working as consolidation authorities and exercise the powers under the Consolidation Act. Thereafter, a statement of plots and tenure holders is prepared and published in the village in the following manner:

- (a) a list of all plots comprised in the holdings of each tenure holder showing :
 - (i) the area of each plot;
 - (ii) the soil classes of the plots according to the last settlement;
 - (iii) the hereditary rent rates sanctioned for the soil classes at the last settlement or revision operations, whichever is the latest;
 - (iv) the rental value of the plot;
 - (v) the revenue or the rent, as the case may be, of the plot calculated in the manner prescribed;
 - (vi) such other particulars as may be prescribed.
- (b) a list of each tenure holder showing:
 - (i) total area held by the tenure holder in all classes of tenures;

- (ii) the revenue or the rent, as the case may be, for his share;
- (iii) the rental value of the area held by the tenure holder; and,
- (iv) such other particulars as may be prescribed.

This detailed statement is published in the village for the information of all concerned.

Any person may file objections against the published statement before the ACO disputing the correctness of any entry in the statement within 30 days from the publication. The ACO after hearing the parties will submit his report to the CO who will go into the objections and decide the same. The decision of the CO has been made legally final to avoid further litigation and where the objection raised is about the question of title, a provision has been made for making a reference to the Arbitrator whose decision shall be final. Experience shows, however, that hardly any cases are being referred to the Arbitrators and almost all the cases are being decided by the consolidation authorities.

When consolidation is undertaken in a village, values are assigned to individual fields in each village and some area is also reserved for common purposes such as roads, extension of abadi, etc. The preparation of fresh statements showing existing rights of right holders is, therefore, essential. These statements comprise:

- (a) an alphabetical index of the individual holders in the village containing also cross references to relevant Khatas (holdings) of the register, i.e., Khatauni Ishtimal;
- (b) a list of survey numbers in their serial order along with the kind of land, the class of soil in the existing records as well as the new valuation;

- (c) an account of existing rights possessed by the owners and their tenants (containing names of owners and tenants, list of plots, class of land and value of land); and,
- (d) a complete and consolidated account of the land and rights of the right-holders to which they are entitled in consolidation.

(In this register, list of plots and class of land are not given. Owners of joint holdings who desire and are entitled to partition are shown separately).

The statements are prepared by the Patwari and are thoroughly checked by the Kanungo (Inspector). The Assistant Consolidation Officer and the Consolidation Officer are also required to check a certain percentage of the entries to ensure their correctness during the course of their visits to the village.

Consolidation involves planned and systematic exchange of land, new and compact blocks being given in place of the previous scattered plots held by an individual cultivator. Since plots of land vary greatly in the texture and quality of soil, facilities of irrigation, productivity, distance from the abadi and other advantages, it is essential to have a method of valuation by which different classes of land can be reduced to a comparable basis.

Careful and correct classification and valuation of land is one of the most essential factors in the success of consolidation schemes. Experience has shown that if due care is exercised at this stage and the fields in the village are correctly valued, the chances of discontent and dispute are reduced to the minimum. In Himachal Pradesh, this important work is assigned to the Assistant Consolidation Officer who is personally held responsible for the correct valuation; frequent checks by the Consolidation Officer also ensure the

correctness.

The methods of valuation can broadly be categorised under three groups :

1. valuation on the basis of productivity;
2. valuation on the basis of market value;
3. valuation on the basis of rental value.

In Himachal Pradesh, valuation is done on the basis of productivity. Under this method, the value of a plot is based on its intrinsic worth in terms of agricultural produce and all those factors which affect the produce are carefully considered. The peasants in the village are consulted and the test for correct valuation is that the average individual should be willing to accept in exchange for his own plot a different piece of land at the new valuation.

An entirely new system of classification and valuation in terms of annas is worked out and the best quality of land in the village is valued at 16 annas, the value of the rest of the land being fixed according to its relative worth compared to the 16 anna land.

The method involves a close survey of all the fields in the village. Valuation is done after taking into consideration: (a) quality of land, (b) situation and distance from the village, (c) improvements, (d) sources of irrigation, and (e) produce. Each of these factors is explained briefly below.

Quality of Land: Lands are classified at the time of settlement but the classification is varied on the basis of crop inspections. If, for instance, land classed as dry at the time of settlement is brought under irrigation, the classification is changed and the entry in the annual record amended accordingly. The usual classes of the land in Himachal Pradesh are:

1. Nehri-irrigated from canal;
2. Chahi-irrigated from wells;

3. Abi-watered by lift from tanks, jhils or streams;
4. Barani-dependent on rainfall;
5. Banjar Jadid-land not cultivated for successive harvests;
6. Banjar Kadim -land not cultivated for eight successive harvests;
7. Gairmumkin-unculturable waste.

At the time of consolidation, along with the changes in classification, differences in the quality of the fields in the same class are also noted and provided for. Although the classification in the revenue records is one of the factors to be taken into consideration, in this method it is not the main or the guiding factor and on account of the other prevailing factors it often happens that fields of the same class of land get different values, for example, one field of nehri land may be valued at annas 8 or 12 per acre whereas another nehri field in the same village may be valued at annas 16. Similarly, in some cases a barani field may have the same value as another nehri or chahi field in the same village.

Situation and Distance from the Village: If a particular area is favourably situated and is near the village so as to command a higher value on that account, this fact is taken into consideration. In a large village, whose area stretches far in one direction, distances of fields from the Abadi and means of communication are given special attention.

Improvements: Any improvements such as the sinking of a well or a tubewell or the construction of a farmhouse and the presence of such factors as water logging or erosion or other evidence of soil deterioration are also taken into consideration while valuing individual fields.

Sources of Irrigation: The sources of irrigation are another important factor in valuation. The question whether irrigation is by flow or lift and in the case of

well irrigation the quality of the water of the well and its depth are given due weight.

Produce: Relative productivity of different fields is ascertained on the spot. The history of cropping and the capacity to produce a double crop is also taken into consideration.

It is quite important that the village consolidation committee and the villagers in general understand the valuation and generally approve of it. For this purpose, when the ACO visits the village he checks up the valuation in the presence of villagers and the village advisory committee. If there are any objections or disputes, he visits the spot and fixes the valuation for each such field after inspection and consultation with the villagers. Experience has shown that at this stage quite often an attempt is made by some of the right-holders to get their lands valued at favourable rates; the officer is, therefore, expected to be very careful in considering the advice tendered by the village advisory committee. He explains to them that wrong valuation would ultimately mean injustice at the time of redistribution and impresses upon them the importance of ensuring justice. He has the discretion to accept or reject the advice of the committee. He may differ from them if he considers that they are swayed by consideration of faction or any other extraneous factor.

Before the valuation of individual fields is undertaken, the village lands are generally divided into blocks. The most important consideration in determining blocks is the manner in which the principal classes of land are found distributed within the village. In fixing the limits of blocks, the existence of some permanent features such as a ridge, a road or a drain is duly considered and generally areas situated between two roads, or beyond a ridge or a drain in a particular direction in the village are placed in the same block. Areas which include much uncultivated land are placed in

a separate block from other areas. The level of lands is also taken into consideration while forming blocks as irrigation is easier on low lying fields than for fields situated at a higher level. In villages by the side of a river, the areas liable to flooding are placed in a block separate from the others. The object of forming blocks is that a sufficient number of fields in a particular region get the same valuation in consolidation.

It should however be noted that division into blocks for purposes of valuation is more useful when a sufficiently large tract in a village is of the same quality and has similar facilities of irrigation, etc. Its usefulness diminishes in tracts where there are marked differences in quality between different fields or a sufficiently large tract of the same quality cannot be had at one place.

Valuation of Individual Fields: The valuation of individual fields generally starts with the superior land in the best block. In this, at first a standard field of 16 annas is selected in consultation with the village advisory committee and the cultivators. Other 16 annas fields are then ascertained and marked on the map. Next, fields of lesser value are valued in terms of annas and similarly marked. In this manner all the fields in all the blocks are valued one after another and their valuation in annas is noted on the map. As stated earlier the test for valuation is that an average individual in the village should agree to the value assigned and be willing to accept another plot in exchange for his own at this value.

Valuation of Trees, Wells, etc.: The valuation of trees both fruit-bearing and non-fruitbearing for purposes of exchange as also the value of wells, etc., for the purpose is fixed in cash on the advice of the village advisory committee and the right holders. The gainer compensate the loser by giving the cash value of trees before repartition. In case he fails to pay the

amount his allotted land is mortgaged with the loser for the equivalent sum without possession. As and when the amount is paid, the land is redeemed.

Scheme of Consolidation

When the statements under Section 20 about the plots and tenure holders has been finalised, as discussed above, the CO proceeds to prepare the scheme for consolidation of holdings in the concerned estate in consultation with the consolidation advisory committee and all the right holders in the village. The consolidation scheme is the most important document prepared during the consolidation operations as this is the document which lays down the policy within the framework of Acts and Rules as to how the whole land shall be repartitioned. Therefore, it will not be out of place here to discuss the principles which guide the CO in the formulation of the scheme. The principles which are kept in view by the CO at the time of formulation of this scheme are mainly the following:

- (a) the land in each village may be divided and grouped under the following blocks, namely:
 - (i) block of land producing rice only;
 - (ii) block of land producing mainly Ekfasli crops, other than rice;
 - (iii) block of land which is mainly Dofasli;
 - (iv) block of land subject to fluvial action of any river; and,
 - (v) classification and valuation of land for the purpose of consolidation and the exchange ratio for conversion of one class into other;
- (b) every tenure holder is, as far as possible, allotted land in the block in which he holds the largest part of his holdings;

- (c) only those tenure holders shall get land in any particular block who already hold land therein;
- (d) the number of chaks to be allotted to each tenure holder excluding areas earmarked for abadi shall not exceed the number of blocks unless there is only one block and the land is more or less of uniform quality;
- (e) the number of plots should not exceed the number of plots held by a landlord or tenant before the consolidation proceedings; and,
- (f) such other principles as may be prescribed.

Apart from the above principles, the scheme shall also provide for payment of compensation to any person who is allotted a holding of market value less than that of his original holding and for recovery of compensation from any person who is allotted a holding of market value greater than that of his original holding. The scheme also provides for the distribution of land between the occupancy tenants and the landlord as per the agreement of the parties and further that after the confirmation of the scheme the lands so allotted with the agreement of the parties should be held by them as full owners. Further, the scheme provides for partition of land according to the recorded shares, if the right-holders want the same. The provisions of the Act also provide that the CO will have the powers to amalgamate the existing roads, streets, lanes, channels, paths, drains, tanks, pastures or other land reserved for common purposes with any holding in the scheme and he has also the power to declare any other land according to the requirement of the village right holders and according to his judgement as land reserved for common purposes of the village in the new scheme of consolidation. The scheme also provides for provision of sufficient land for the

extension of 'abadis' by the right holders.

At the time of preparation of the scheme the CO checks whether notices as laid down in the Act/Rules have been properly published. He obtains the copies of the notices and the reports of their proper publication and attaches them to the scheme. He then issues a notice of the preparation of the draft scheme. As in the previous notices, a copy of this notice is exhibited in a public place and a proclamation made by beat of drum in the village. An entry to that effect is also made in the daily diary of the Patwari.

The next step is to specify the area to be left out of consolidation in the village. Thus, the area covered by an old abadi, a pucca road, a railway line, a brick kiln, etc., if any, would be excluded. The village committee may decide to exclude gardens or areas affected by fluvial action or subject to extensive soil erosion from consolidation and in such cases the decision of the committee is noted down in the scheme. The CO files a copy of the valuation of fields in the scheme and further specifies as to what land would form a separate grade for consolidation. Provision is also made to the effect that a small difference in the total area due and the area allotted to an individual would be ignored. In the same way, small increases or decreases in area in each grade are also ignored. The limit of the area likely to be ignored is also laid down in the scheme. In hilly areas, rectangulation is not possible nor do we it in Himachal Pradesh; the practice is indicated in the scheme whether rectangulation has been carried out or not.

A provision is always made in the scheme for providing land for common purposes. This reservation is generally made out of the common land but if that area is insufficient or some better location is desired, the same is reserved for the particular purpose and a proportionate deduction made from the land of individual owners. The purpose for which reservation could be made

is broadly as under:

(a) Compulsory items:

1. roads;
2. primary schools;
3. playground for children and adults;
4. extension of abadi for proprietors and non-proprietors.

The area reserved for extension of abadi for non-proprietors in the village varies from 5 to 8 marlas (a marla is about 30 sq. yards). In their case the area is allotted without payment of any compensation.

The maximum area to be allotted to a proprietor in the village for building sites is fixed and provision is made for a corresponding deduction from his cultivated area and this deduction can be two to three times of the reserved area.

(b) Optional items:

1. roadside hackney carriage stand;
2. middle and high school;
3. panchayatghar;
4. sewage tanks;
5. markets;
6. mela grounds;
7. rural dispensary;
8. veterinary centre;
9. village theatre;
10. gurdwara/temple/church.

Allotment of New Holdings to Individuals

As is known, the valuation of land is done in terms of annas. Thus, there may be 8 to 10 classes of land in the village carrying different anna value. If an attempt is made to allot the exact equivalent of each class of

land to an individual, this would mean allotment at several places. In order to avoid this, different classes of land are usually grouped together into two or three grades. Thus, it may be provided that land valued annas 12 to 16 would form grade I, land valued at 8 to 12 grade II and the rest of the land grade III for purposes of allotment. Thereafter, the entire area due to an individual in a particular grade is usually allotted to him at one spot within the area falling in that grade. In this manner all the scattered pieces of land of a particular grade belonging to an owner are substituted by a compact area of equivalent value in that grade.

The rule generally followed for allotment of land in a particular grade is that allotment to an individual would be made at the place where he had his previous 'major portion' in that particular grade. The area of contiguous fields owned by a person in each grade is added up and the place where he had the largest area is his 'major portion' in that grade. Sometimes, it so happens that the major portion of two persons fall within the same area; in such cases, the percentage of the 'major portion' to the total area held by each person in the given grade is calculated and the person having the higher percentage is given preference, the second party being shifted to his next biggest fragment in that grade. In case of competition at the next fragment, the same principle is followed.

When the location of the new holding of a person is determined in the above manner an attempt is made to include the entire area which was in his previous possession at that place in his new holding; the area previously held by him usually forms the nucleus of his new plot.

To protect the rights of small owners and tenants a provision is often made in the consolidation scheme that persons holding less than a prescribed area would be allotted land at one place only even if they hold land

in more than one grade. This place may be his 'major portion' in the superior grade or, if he so desires, in an inferior grade. The limit is generally put at one or two acres and is fixed in consultation with the village committee.

Usually, a tenant holds land from one landowner and in such cases the consolidation of the holdings presents no problem. Where, however, a tenant holds land under a number of landowners who desire their shares to be partitioned in the course of consolidation operations, there is a possibility that the tenant's holding may get scattered. The area cultivated by the tenant is not partitioned. Every tenant is given a piece of land out of the new holding of the landowner equivalent in value to the land held by the tenant before consolidation and an entry to that effect is made in the records.

Allotment of Wells, Trees, etc.: Wells and trees, etc., as already appointed out, are valued at their market value. Wells and scattered trees go with the land and their original owner is entitled to compensation. Generally, in the case of fairly large gardens and sometimes in the case of pucca wells and tubewells, etc., provision is made for their allotment to the original owners. Later, the price of trees or wells is realised from the allottee and given to the original owner.

Allotment of Area Under Adverse Possession: In cases where a person has taken possession of land without the consent of the owner and the fact of such possession has been duly entered in the revenue records, an attempt for reconciliation is made. If, however, there is no agreement, a person in adverse possession is given possession of land of equivalent value out of the new holding of the recorded owner.

Partition of Joint Holding: Joint holdings can be partitioned during consolidation operations if all the co-sharers so desire and make a statement to that effect before the CO. A provision in the consolidation scheme

gives the necessary authority for this purpose. It is worthwhile to mention that a joint holding can only be partitioned if all the co-owners agree to its partition and not otherwise. This sometimes causes hardship to minors and widows when they are joint holders because in such cases other co-sharers generally do not agree.

Allotment to Mortgagees: In the case of a mortgagee with possession a provision is generally made that the burden would be transferred to the new holding allotted to the owner and the mortgagee is put in possession of an equivalent area in the new holding of the owners.

Change of Possession: The Act provides that the change of possession of holdings would take place at the commencement of the next agricultural year following the publication of the consolidation scheme unless the owners and the tenants agree to get into possession at some other date. A provision for change of possession immediately after objections are decided by the CO is generally made in the scheme.

Normally, the possession is delivered at the end of a crop season but if some crops are standing a condition is usually attached that the present owner would be allowed to cut and gather his crop.

The above noted are the broad principles for which provision is made in the scheme.

Statements Filed with the Scheme: The statements filed with the scheme are:

1. index of papers;
2. preliminary proceedings (Robkar Ibtadai) stating the authority under which the scheme has been prepared and its date of beginning and completion;
3. report of the notification giving government's decision to take up the work of consolidation in the village;
4. notice to the owners in the village about the

- time the consolidation officer will visit the village for preparation of the scheme;
5. orders appointing guardians of minors, widows and absentees, etc.;
 6. plotwise valuation and classification of land;
 7. valuation statement for wells and trees;
 8. list of holdings held in adverse possession;
 9. list of holdings to be partitioned during consolidation;
 10. copy of Wajab-Ul-Arz (Statement of conditions regarding rights or liabilities in the village--commonly known as village administration paper);
 11. details of the area reserved for extension of abadi for proprietors and non-proprietors;
 12. index map of the village showing the proposed roads, paths, etc. and the area reserved for other common purposes;
 13. statement of principles for consolidation, i.e., the scheme itself;
 14. copy of the notice giving the consolidation officers' proposals about amalgamation of public roads, street, lane, path, channel, drain, tank, pasture or other land reserved for common purposes with any holding and extinction of rights of individuals over such areas or the transfer of such rights to other similar areas.

These documents having been filed, the consolidation scheme is published in the village with a view to inviting objections. At the time of publication, if not earlier, every owner/tenant is given a passbook which contains an account of his rights and interests in the land in the village and the valuation of his fields. The objections received within the prescribed time--which is 30 days--are considered by the Consolidation Officer, who then submits the scheme with his comments to the Settlement Officer for confirmation. Where the Consolidation Officer considers it necessary, he amends

the scheme and publishes it again for inviting objections. If no objections are received within the prescribed time limit the Settlement Officer confirms the scheme with such amendments as he thinks necessary and the confirmed scheme is then published in the village.

Repartition of Village Land: As soon as the 'scheme' is confirmed the work of allotment of new holdings to individuals is taken up in consultation with the village committee, land owners and the tenants of the village. This is called 'repartition'.

Like valuation and preparation of the draft scheme, repartition has also to be carried out by the Consolidation Officer and the Assistant Consolidation Officer. To enable the ACO to undertake this task, the Patwari and the Kanungo prepare a register in which the 'major portion' in each grade of land owned by an individual is shown with details of the total area in 'standard acres'. A map showing the 'major portion' of owners with their names is then prepared with the help of this register. The register and the map enables the ACO to complete his proposals for allotment. The new holdings are marked in the map and a complete note of the proposed repartition is made in the register of proceedings.

Statements in Repartition: The ACO prepares the following statements:

1. a map of the village showing all the existing field numbers, roads, and irrigation channels and areas assigned for public purposes such as burial grounds, disposal of animal carcasses, ponds or grazing areas, etc., with new field numbers superimposed upon it;
2. a similar village map showing the position emerging as a result of repartition;
3. statement based on the corrected record of rights showing the names of owners of holdings

with particulars of field numbers, shares, class of land, tenure, area, assessment and encumbrances;

4. a statement showing the names of owners and the tenants and the nature of their rights in the land;
5. a statement showing the compensation payable by or to an owner in case he gets land of more or less market value than due to him in exchange for his own. As land is generally changed for other land of equal value, these differences may arise on account of trees, wells, etc., in particular plots;
6. a statement showing the names of owners to whom the new consolidated holdings are allotted with particulars of field numbers, shares, class of land, tenure, area, assessment and encumbrances, if any;
7. such other papers as may be considered necessary by Settlement Officer (Consolidation).

The contents of statements 4 or 6 are read out and explained to the owners at the time of publication and their new holdings are demarcated on the spot.

After the publication of the scheme of repartition the owners can file written objections with the Consolidation Officer within the prescribed time limit. If they are not satisfied with the orders of the Consolidation Officer an appeal lies to the Settlement Officer. A second appeal lies to the Director whose powers in Himachal Pradesh are being exercised by the Deputy Director of Land Records and finally a revision lies with the State Government under Section 54 of the Act. The powers of the State Government are delegated to the Director of Consolidation of Holdings and Additional Director of Consolidation of Holdings. As the allotment is completed, extracts giving details of the new allotment are given to the owners (allotment

orders).

Preparation of Final Papers and Their Attestation

The next important step is the final attestation of various statements prepared in consolidation. The Kanungo first reads out and explains these statements to the villagers. A percentage of these entries are then similarly read out and explained by the Assistant Consolidation Officer, and the Consolidation Officer. These officers visit the village at different times and verification is generally done in an open meeting of the villagers in the village concerned or at a place in its immediate vicinity where all the persons concerned are summoned to attend.

The Kanungo is also required to check thoroughly all the statements and to attest all the pages of the records in token of his having done so. Thereafter, the A.C.O. checks a certain percentage of these entries and ascertains by such enquiries as he deems sufficient that these have been correctly prepared. He then certifies that the records have been duly attested in the presence of the villagers and all the mistakes pointed out in the previous inspections have been corrected.

The Consolidation Officer also rechecks some of these entries to ensure that corrections have been duly carried out and endorses the certificate recorded by the ACO.

Before the final record is prepared it is necessary to enter two mutations embodying the changes brought about by consolidation. By the first mutation (known as Istarak) the entire land of the village is brought into a common pool and by the second (known as Tagstim) the individual allotment is shown against each of the owners. The entries in the first mutation are abbreviated and its completion does not take much time, but the entry in the second mutation are very detailed and are more or less an exact copy of the record showing the final allotment of land to owners in the village

(Khatauni Pamaish). This procedure is followed with a view to giving effect in the revenue records the allotment of land to the individual owners in pursuance of the rule that no alteration can be made in the existing revenue record without the orders of a Revenue Officer. The entries of the mutation, its comparison with the revenue record (Khatauni Pamaish in this case) and the attestation order (wherein details of survey numbers allotted to each individual have to be mentioned), however, take a good deal of time.

Fair copies of the attested record are then prepared and consigned to the record room.

Fees for Consolidation

The policy of the government is to levy the minimum possible token fee only and the fees are not assessed proportionately to the cost of the consolidation proceedings. The proceedings are carried out at government expense as a welfare and development scheme. The present policy is to assess only a token fee of Rs.5 per acre.

Power to Vary or Revoke Scheme

The scheme once confirmed can be varied or revoked by the authority confirming it subject to any order of the government in relation thereto.

Power of the State Government to Call for the Proceedings

Under Section 54 of the Act, the State Government has been empowered to call for any record, order passed, scheme prepared or repartition made during consolidation operations and to examine the same for any pending or disposed of case and in doing so it has also been empowered to pass any order as it deems fit. These powers of the State Government have been delegated to the Director and Additional Director, Consolidation of Holdings. They hear the revision applications under this section by holding circuit courts in various districts

and they can call for any record and pass orders as they deem fit. This sweeping power to the State Government which has been delegated to the Director and Additional Director, Consolidation of Holdings, empowers these officers to give full justice to the affected parties if something wrong has been done at any stage of consolidation operations.

Thus, we can see from the above scheme of the Act that sufficient powers have been given to the various authorities at the various levels, right from the ACO upto the level of the Director according to the importance of the matter involved. The decision-making powers are also exercised right from the level of the ACO upto the level of Director.

Linkage of Policy Enforcing Agency with the Policy Making Agency

Both formal and informal linkage exists between the policy makers and the policy enforcing body. The policy is framed at the Directorate and Government level and enforced at the Directorate level through the implementing agency under the control of the Settlement Officer. The formal and informal meetings are held at various levels by the policy makers with the staff and all points of importance are discussed and decided after full discussions. The implementing agency is in fact fully involved in the policy making right from the lowest level to the Directorate level. From the above discussion, the conclusion is drawn that the scheme is working well and the programme is being implemented successfully under the existing scheme.

Enforcement

The Settlement Officer (C/H) is responsible for implementing the scheme in the field in his entire circle. He has been vested with powers of various type such as budgetary, drawing and disbursing, initiation of the confidential reports, supervisory and inspecting powers,

etc. He has been given a free hand in deciding most of the matters at his level and has been vested with the administrative and judicial powers as well. As far as financial powers are concerned, he is responsible for preparing the budget and sending the same to the Director. He also works as drawing and disbursing officer for all the field staff. He supplies the material required by the field staff and also provides them a financial cover. He disburses the pay and allowances and controls the travelling expenses up to the level of ACO. The whole field agency has to depend upon him for all the materials such as stationery and other equipment and he has sufficient powers to provide them all these items.

He prepares the plan of work for the whole year and gets the same approved from the Director in the shape of Circlebandi. He is also empowered to transfer staff up to the level of Patwaris and Kanungos within his circle. He has the inspecting powers over all the field staff. He exercises the powers of Collector as far as maintenance and upkeep of the land records is concerned and the powers of the Settlement Officer as far as consolidation operations are concerned. He can vary and revoke the scheme subject to the further order of the Director or State Government. He also makes recommendations about awards and punishments if any are to be awarded to good and bad workers respectively. He hears the appeals against the orders of the Consolidation Officer on the judicial side. Being the overall incharge of consolidation operations at the field level he exercises sufficient powers to keep his subordinate staff under his complete control. Thus the powers vested in him are sufficient and have been helpful in the efficient performance of his duties. The work and conduct of the Settlement Officer is under the control of the Director. The Director and Additional Director can both inspect his work and give directions to him administratively and on the financial side also. The sanction of expenditure

beyond a particular level is to be done by the Director himself. Thus, the institutional mechanism under the Act, Rules and Scheme is sufficient for proper enforcement of the scheme.

Economic, Social and Political Conditions

The economic resources are available within the implementing jurisdiction. The budget is directly allotted to the Settlement Officer by the State Government within the overall allocations. He is made available sufficient finances for successful implementation of the scheme. The effect of the consolidation scheme on the economic and social conditions over the years where this scheme is being implemented is immense. Once the scheme of consolidation is completed, extraordinary developmental activities start. The right holders try to develop the land, level the same, obtain the help of the government for levelling it and then for providing means of irrigation. Wherever possible, the irrigation facilities are immediately developed. It has been noticed that after the consolidation operations are over the right holders try to have a small farmhouse which makes the supervising and management of farming much more convenient, efficient and profitable. Some of them take to cash crops also. Consequently, there is a remarkable increase in the agricultural production which has a direct bearing on the social uplift of the concerned right holders. Though no specific studies have been conducted, however, it has generally been observed that production has increased manifold in the years wherein this scheme has been implemented. In some of the villages, the increase in production has been as large as ten times the production prior to the implementation of the scheme.

It has generally been observed that the elites have favoured the implementation of the programme and in fact they are helpful many a time in assisting the implementing agency in achieving the goals.

The political conditions in the state are favourable

for the proper implementation of the scheme. The scheme is becoming more and more popular day by day. This is evident from the fact that the demand for taking up more and more villages has been increasing and the new villagers have to wait for their turn due to shortage of staff.

The Disposition of Implementers

The implementing agency fully understands the mechanism, policy and the objectives of the programme and they accept all these most willingly. The evaluation of their performance is being carried out at regular intervals, i.e., monthly, quarterly and annually and the results have been very encouraging. This is evident from the fact that the targets fixed are not only being achieved but are being exceeded. This shows that the implementers fully understand the programme and its objectives and they have accepted the scheme. The response from their side has been very encouraging.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSION

The process of fragmentation is a continuing process and so, it is not only a one sided problem of consolidation of existing fragmented holdings but it also involves improvement of the consolidated holdings and prevention of sub-division of holdings into uneconomic units in future. At present, the programme of consolidation of holdings is restricted only to consolidation of exiting fragmented holdings in the Pradesh and no steps have been taken to tackle this problem of fragmentation from other angles. Though the Act provides that the State Government may notify any area and also the minimum area that can be cultivated profitably as a separate plot and may also determine the standard area in such notified areas yet no steps have been taken to prescribe this minimum area so

far. There are no restrictions on partitions, sub-division and fragmentation of even the consolidated holdings. Thus, there is a need to tackle the problem from other angles also. To make this scheme more popular the government can also lay down a policy of giving loans for improvement of land and irrigation facilities on preferential basis to the villages which have been consolidated. There is also need to prevent the sub-divisions of holdings into uneconomic units in future after the consolidation operations have been completed and so the standard area and minimum area should also be specified to check future fragmentation.

Consolidation provides a unique opportunity for development of village communication, planning of village abadi and provision of social amenities and works of common utility. It becomes possible to develop entire village and intervillage and inter-tehsil roads, thus enabling the farmers to carry fodder and crops to their home without the discomfort and drudgery of carrying bundles on their heads. The villagers get better marketing facilities for their produce and the whole village economy is in fact stimulated. Construcion and extension work also gets a major uplift. Boundry and other disputes are also minimised.

The consolidation operations, though commenced in the year 1954, had been moving at a snail's pace till recently. In view of the mounting demand for consolidation, the State Government realised its importance and decided to step up the consolidation operations in accordance with the policy directions of the Planning Commission. Earlier, though one fullfledged unit had been sanctioned for many years yet this was never fully staffed for want of funds. It is a happy sign that during the current financial year (i.e., 1982-83) the government granted permission to fill up all created posts and the fully staffed existing unit has started

working with full enthusiasm. The decision of the State Government to set up a new unit during the last quarter of this financial year has also been welcomed by the implementing agency as this will give many a better chance for promotion. The department is likely to be doubled and this has resulted in a wave of enthusiasm. Also, the inclusion of the scheme under the 20-Point Programme and regular monitoring has brought greater awareness in the implementers and has resulted in increased efficiency. During the last 2 years, the targets laid down for the consolidation operations have not only been achieved but have even been exceeded. If the present tempo is kept up and the State as well as the Central Governments are in a position to allocate the necessary funds, the staff of the Department of Consolidation can be expanded as mentioned earlier and will be able to complete the entrusted work of consolidation of holdings in the balance of around 36 lakh acres in the desired time frame, i.e., before March 1990.

Annexure 1
PRESENT ORGANISATIONAL CHART

DIRECTORATE

1. Director, Consolidation (Addl. charge with DLR)	= 1	7. Assistants/Accountants	= 2
2. Additional Director	= 1	8. Clerks	= 4
3. Dy. Director Land Records	= 1	9. Peshi Kgos.	= 2
4. Consolidation Officer (Vig.)	= 1	10. Patwari/Ahlmads	= 4
5. Peshi ACOs	= 2	11. Peons	= 4
6. Stenographers	= 2	12. Driver	= 1
		13. Chaukidar	= 1

SETTLEMENT OFFICER (CONSOLIDATION)

1. Settlement Officer	= 1	7. Clerks	= 4
2. Consolidation Officers	= 4	8. Driver	= 1
3. Superintendent	= 1	9. Peons	= 4
4. Peshi Kanungos	= 2	10. Chaukidar	= 1
5. Stenographer	= 1	11. Sweeper	= 1
6. Asstt./Acctt.	= 2	12. Ahlamad	= 1

C.O. Hamirpur		C.O. Bilaspur		C.O. Amb		C.O. Una	
1. Peshi Kgo.	= 2	1. Peshi Kgo.	= 2	1. Peshi Kgo.	= 2	1. Peshi	= 1
2. Clerk	= 1	2. Clerk	= 1	2. Clerk	= 1	2. Clerk	= 1
3. Peons	= 2	3. Peons	= 2	3. Peons	= 2	3. Peons	= 2
1. ACO Bhoti		1. ACO Nalagarh		1. ACO Indora		1. ACO Haroli	
2. ACO Sujampur.		2. ACO Baidawara		2. ACO Gagret		2. ACO Lathiani	
3. ACO Hamirpur.						3. ACO Una	
Pat. Kgo. Clerks		Pat. Kgo. Peons		Pat. Kgo. Peons		Pat. Kgo. Clerks	
30 10 2		29 8 8		28 8 8		26 7 2	
							10

Annexure 2
PROPOSED ORGANISATIONAL CHART AFTER REORGANISATION

Director, Consolidation of Holdings.

Addl. Director, Consolidation of Holdings.

Dy. Director, Land Records

Settlement Officer
I

Settlement Officer-II
(As per SOI)

CO-I CO-II CO-III

(CO-II & III as per CO-I)

ACO-I ACO-II ACO-III

(ACO-II & III as per ACO I)

FK-I FK-II FK-III FK-IV

(FK-II, FK-III & FK-IV as per FK-I)

Total posts for 2 units
after reorganisation

1. Director, Consolidation
2. Additional Director.
3. Deputy Directors,
Land Records
4. Settlement Officers
5. Asstt. Consolidation
Officers
6. Kanungos
7. Consolidation Officers
8. Stenographers
9. Patwaris
10. Assistants/ Accountants
11. Supdts.
12. Clerks
13. Chaukidars
14. Drivers
15. Sweepers
16. Peons

= 2
= 20
= 90
= 7
= 4
= 382
= 7
= 3
= 38
= 3
= 4
= 2
= 113

Pat.I Pat.II Pat.III Pat.IV Pat.V

Annexure 3
STATEMENT SHOWING THE FEASIBLE AREA IN THE HIMACHAL
PRADESH STATE

Sl. No.	Name of District	Feasible Area	Area Consolida- dated	Balance Area Requiring Consolida- tion
1.	Kangra	8,33,501	3,40,713	4,92,788
2.	Una	3,02,460	1,88,394	1,14,066
3.	Solan	4,12,539	2,12,971	1,99,568
4.	Bilaspur	2,56,094	2,38,641	17,453
5.	Mandi	6,17,612	29,910	5,87,702
6.	Hamirpur	2,36,067	1,04,447	1,31,620
7.	Sirmur	4,36,371	71,919	3,64,452
8.	Chamba	10,88,455	-	10,88,455
9.	Kinnaur	-	-	-
10.	Kullu	1,05,754	-	1,05,754
11.	Lahaul Spiti	-	-	-
12.	Shimla	6,11,147	-	6,11,147
		49,00,000	11,86,995	37,13,005

